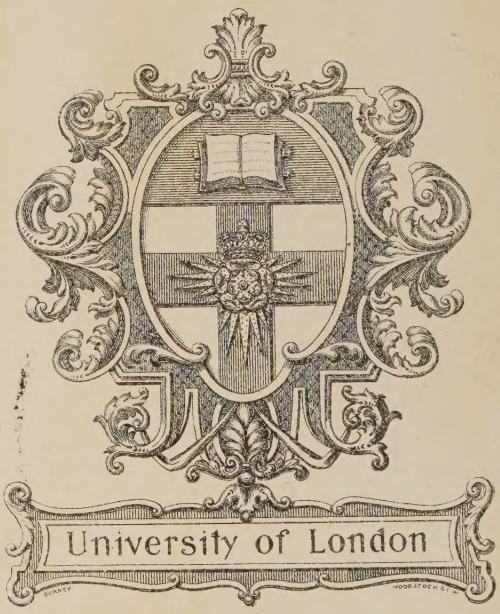


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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Third Series.

VOL. III.

LONDON
OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY
7 SOUTH SQUARE, GRAY'S INN, W.C.
1909

43

BIBL.
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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

# PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By the Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A., D.Litt.

*Delivered February* 18, 1909

The termination of the four years' period for which you were good enough to elect me as your President suggests that I should read you some notes on the part taken by our Society and its Fellows in the progress of historical work since my election. I cannot attempt any completeness of treatment, and can only hope that what I have to say may interest you. Beginning with a movement which from its character claims our first attention, I would remind you that the last four years have seen the genesis and rapid development of the Historical Association, consisting mainly of teachers of history to the young, and instituted by them primarily to raise the standard of the work in which they are engaged. As to the vast importance of that work there can be no question: it is the laying of foundations. The Association, which deserves and has received from our Society all the sympathy and help we can give it, now numbers over 850 members, and has already published many leaflets and short treatises on such subjects as the methods of

teaching history, examinations in history, and bibliographies of works specially recommended for the use of teachers. It is to be congratulated on the excellent instruction lately issued by authority to the heads of secondary schools on the teaching of history, which, if not a direct consequence of its work, at least gives effect to some of its resolutions. The Association will doubtless continue to flourish and be of signal benefit to its members, and to other teachers also in many ways, and not least in urging upon them that their first aim should be to educate their pupils by means of history rather than to prime them with knowledge, however sound; that they should make the history lesson a factor in the formation of character by exciting admiration of that which is good and noble in the past, and, intellectually, should use it as an opportunity for implanting and stimulating the love of historical reading, and for the cultivation of the reflective and imaginative faculties.

Let us pass to what has been done for advanced historical teaching. At Oxford an important step has of late been taken in this direction; for the University has this year made an annual grant which will greatly forward work previously carried on, though crippled by the inadequacy of remuneration. Lectures and other tuition in diplomatic, palæography, and medieval law and antiquities are now fairly endowed, though unfortunately, while £560 is allotted to the medieval course, the modern course is left with only £60 a year. In addition, however, to the endowed teaching, several of the best historical lecturers in the University give courses of lectures specially adapted for advanced students, which somewhat redresses the inequality. Post-graduate study of history is increasing rapidly at Oxford, partly owing to the coming of the Rhodes Scholars, and in a large measure to the exertions of Professor Firth, one of our Vice-Presidents. Much, indeed, still remains to be done, but he is indefatigable, and the time is probably not far distant when his efforts will meet with complete success.

Yet he agrees with me that nothing which Oxford or

Cambridge may do in this respect ought to take the place of a similar provision here in London, both because as the capital it attracts many who desire to engage in research, and because it has a wealth of documentary authorities for history unequalled by any other city. Here all workers, at least on English history, must find their chief materials, and here, consequently, they should also be able to find instruction in the use of them. As you are aware, a strenuous effort has been made during the last seven years to provide such instruction by means of an 'Advanced Historical Teaching Fund.' So far as their finances would allow, the Committee for its administration have secured excellent teaching, and the results have been satisfactory. Yet financially the prospect does not seem encouraging; instead of two teachers, one can now scarcely be paid. Speaking only for myself, I think that the success of the cause would best be promoted if the work was left to, and taken up by, some existing institution, for a multiplication of kindred agencies is alike wasteful and injurious to efficiency. The fittest institution to undertake the work of advanced historical teaching in London is surely the University of London, provided that its authorities will use the means that they have in their power to ensure that such teaching shall be confined to those who can show, in one way or another, that they already have a good groundwork of general historical knowledge. That condition is essential. Advanced work, whether in research or other special study, has a strong attraction for young students, but to encourage them to spend their time over such matters as manorial customs or the economic effects of a treaty, when they scarcely know the rudiments even of English political history, would be deplorable both for their sakes and for the sake of sound learning.

That interest in history is increasing in the country is proved by the large output of historical books during the last four years. Far more people find pleasure in reading such books than half a century ago: the market is fairly large, and is amply though not so well supplied as it should

be. The historical books which find most readers are not always those most worth reading: many of them are filled with gossip about the lives of persons of exalted rank or disreputable character; in some cases their subjects have both these attractions, and so they gratify two vulgar tastes at once. Yet the popularity of such books should be regarded with indulgence, for they give their readers some mental exercise and may lead them to read history of a truer kind. Many books worthy of notice on this occasion have appeared during the period under review, but I can only notice the more important of those of which the authors or editors were Fellows of our Society at the date of their publication Some represent the work of many contributors. Although the 'Dictionary of National Biography' does not belong to the last four years, it is so valuable to historians that the issue of a revised and cheaper edition now in progress under the supervision of Mr. Sidney Lee claims our notice, especially as it enables our Library Committee to purchase the work for the use of our Fellows. Of that magnificent undertaking the 'Victoria County History' thirty-seven volumes have been published since February 1905. Several of our Fellows are engaged upon it, notably our Honorary Secretary, the editor of the Surrey volumes, whose wide knowledge of history, ecclesiastical and civil, becomes special and unrivalled where that county is concerned. As the work goes on, it grows increasingly valuable as a record of the social history of the English people.

Co-operation of another kind is exemplified by the grandly conceived and successful 'Cambridge Modern History,' in which we have a peculiar interest, as, besides many of its contributors, its three editors belong to our Society. Six volumes have appeared during the last four years, and though opinions may fairly differ as regards the plan of the work, the ability and learning displayed in every volume are beyond question. On virtually the same lines is the 'Cambridge History of English Literature,' now in progress under the highly capable editorship of the Master

of Peterhouse, one of our ex-Presidents. A third system of co-operation, which seems appropriate to the history of a single state or institution, assigns to each author a separate volume to be occupied by a period of the whole history, all being written under the same editorship. This is the plan adopted by Dr. Lavisse in his 'Histoire de France,' of which it is impossible to say anything that is not laudatory, save that so much space is devoted to other matters that the political history is dealt with too summarily. This plan, too, is followed in the 'Political History of England' in twelve volumes, of which nine have been published in the last four years. Of these seven are wholly, and another in a great part, the work of Fellows of this Society, as will also be the three remaining volumes, now nearly ready, by Mr. Leadam and Professors Lodge and Pollard. My own part and interest in this undertaking, shared by the learned editor of the 'English Historical Review,' prevent me from speaking of the measure of success it has attained, though my gratitude to my collaborators and my appreciation of their contributions make it hard for me to be silent.

Of the books by single authors belonging to our Society at the date of their publication, Dr. Gairdner's 'Lollardy and the Reformation' will take its place among the most authoritative works on English Church History. It contains results obtained by highly skilled labour upon documentary evidences during many years, and attempts with signal success to point out the principles and other motives concerned in the revolt from ecclesiastical authority. The arduous task undertaken by Sir James Ramsay, of Bamff, one of our Vice-Presidents, the writing of a History of England from the earliest times to the accession of the Tudor dynasty, of which the first instalment appeared in 1892, has been advanced another stage by his publication of a volume entitled the 'Dawn of the Constitution' and including the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. This leaves only the period from 1307 to 1399 yet to be covered, so that we may now look forward to the speedy completion of this

valuable work. In the present as in his previous volumes the author bases his history on original authorities, and specially on chronicles, with which he has a wide and thorough acquaintance: he uses them in a critical spirit, and while he takes advantage of what has been written by other scholars he constantly shows independence of judgment. He continues to give prominence to finance, a decisive factor in politics, hitherto insufficiently dealt with by our historians, chiefly, no doubt, on account of the complexity of the subject and of the measure of uncertainty which attends it. His narrative is for the most part strictly chronological and is written in commendably direct language, and his numerous and accurate foot-note references are extremely useful. Sir George Trevelyan has added another volume or 'part' to his brilliantly written 'History of the American Revolution,' in which abundant details are made to subserve the general presentment designed by the author. My pleasure in reading this finely executed book is not incompatible with disagreement with the standpoint from which it is written. The late Mr. Doyle, as I noted last year, produced his two last volumes on American colonial history shortly before his death. Dr. Raymond Beazley has in a third volume completed his 'Dawn of Modern Geography,' a record of exploration and of the progress of geographical science from the fourth to the fifteenth century, a book of much learning and replete with interest. His third volume deals with the accounts of the exploration of Asia by land and sea, from the gorgeous narrative of Marco Polo onwards, and his work, ending with the early voyages, leaves us on the eve of the new era ushered in by Prince Henry the Navigator.

On military history we have had five notable works from Fellows of our Society. The Hon. John Fortescue has continued his monumental 'History of the British Army' in a volume of two parts from the eve of the outbreak of the great war with France to the Peace of Amiens. He describes with the utmost care the course of the war on land in the various parts of the world to which it extended, both

operations of small political importance and those which profoundly affected the history of nations; for, as the historian of the Army, he follows its achievements and fortunes. Changes in its composition, organisation, discipline, and moral and material condition are fully expounded, and he is thus led to criticise the policy and action of the ministers responsible for its state of efficiency and for the tasks assigned to it. Documentary and other evidences afford a firm basis for his statement of facts, and though I am by no means able to accept all his criticisms on ministerial action, they are always worthy of respectful consideration. Professor Oman has given us a third volume of his 'History of the Peninsular War,' which extends from Wellington's withdrawal from the Tagus to Badajoz in the autumn of 1809 to the end of Masséna's attempt to conquer Portugal in December 1810, and so includes the Battle of Bussaco, of which we have an account of the deepest interest, and the turning point of the war, the failure of the French to penetrate the lines of Torres Vedras: for their retreat from Sobral in November 1810 was, to quote the author's words, 'to end at Toulouse on April 11, 1814.' Professor Oman's use of authorities previously disregarded or inaccessible, his critical ability, and his freedom from prejudice combine to throw new light on many events less satisfactorily treated in Napier's classic volumes.

A work on 'Dumouriez,' for which Dr. Holland Rose is partly responsible, contains large extracts from a manuscript volume written by the General referring to the defence of England, and exhibiting his claims to have acted as military adviser to the ministry. How far these claims were well grounded and to what extent the authors have succeeded in establishing his right to a favourable judgment of his character must be determined by their readers. A smaller and singularly instructive book on military history, Colonel Lloyd's 'Review of the History of Infantry,' traces the changes in the organisation, weapons, and importance of infantry from the period of the wars between the Greeks and Persians to

the late war between Russia and Japan. It is not a mere record of facts; it expounds their significance, examining the gradual advance in the value of the foot soldier due to successive improvements in tactics and even more in arms; and though it deals with a technical subject, it is written so clearly and with so little technicality of language that a civilian can understand it without difficulty. Mr. Skrine's 'Fontenoy' is an able and attractive record of the part taken by Great Britain in the War of the Austrian Succession, and especially of the campaign of 1745, and is full of much useful information.

Our Director's, Mr. Hall's, volume of 'Studies in English Official Historical Documents' is a work which will be highly prized by students of English History. It displays an intimate knowledge of English, and incidentally of Continental 'diplomatic,' and a remarkable power of classification. As a guide to the characters of the various official sources, it will save those who seek materials for our medieval history from wandering in darkness amid a mass of documents and from falling into many errors, and it is in itself a fine witness to the spirit which pervades the Public Record Office, showing how years of official labour, instead of dulling the interest in its work, increase the zeal of the workers, quicken their critical faculties, and strengthen their desire to enable others to acquire the learning of which they hold the key. With this has been published the first volume of a 'Formula' book, the exemplary documents having been sought out and transcribed by Mr. Hall's students: it is a useful and, indeed, a necessary companion to his 'Studies,' and it proves the efficiency of his teaching and its stimulating quality. A noteworthy book on Irish history, Mrs. Green's 'Making of Ireland and its Undoing,' is written to vindicate the Irish from the aspersions of English authors of Tudor times, who, beholding the desolation wrought by invading armies, describe the land and its people as though the misery they witnessed was the natural condition of the country. Mrs. Green proves from documents which are beyond dispute that before these invasions Ireland

had an extensive trade, that articles produced there were in high repute in many lands, and that in some districts agriculture was largely carried on ; and she shows that there were famous Irish scholars, and that the people had a certain civilisation of a somewhat primitive kind. While we cannot accept her picture as a whole, remembering that all that was Irish was not Gaelic, that in English towns in Ireland the natives would have little or no part in manufacture or commerce, and that Ireland suffered from other causes of trouble besides English injustice, we must allow that her book is of much interest. Mr. Webb's three volumes on 'The History of English Local Government,' written in conjunction with Mrs. Webb, treat a complex and difficult subject with remarkable ability and in a thoroughly scientific fashion. In spite of the distance of his home from public libraries and manuscript authorities, the Rev. John Willcock, of Lerwick, who contributed a well-considered paper to our Transactions in 1906, has added to his earlier biographies a volume entitled 'A Scot's Earl in Covenanting Times, the Life and Times of Archibald, Ninth Earl of Argyle,' a politician himself scarcely worthy of the author's labour, but whose life is skilfully made the central subject in a general and carefully written record of Scottish history during some sixty years of the seventeenth century. In some respects the book suffers from neglect of unprinted though accessible records, and we may hope that before long so capable and industrious a worker as Mr. Willcock has proved himself to be may devote his talents to the biography of some more interesting historical personage, and may be in a position which will enable him to leave no source of information unexplored.

Lord Fitzmaurice's 'Life of Earl Granville' is an admirable biography of that great liberal foreign minister ; it is well arranged, contains much correspondence and information on affairs of first-rate importance, as the Franco-German War, the Geneva Award, the Egyptian question in 1881–82, and the like, and is a useful companion to Lord Morley's 'Life of Gladstone.' Another of our Honorary Vice-Presidents, the Earl of

Ilchester, has again made public one of the manuscript treasures of Holland House, the Journal of the famous Lady Holland. Though not of much direct historical value, it is a book not only delightful in itself, but throwing fresh light on the character of an historical personage. It is edited with the same care and discretion as the other volumes which Lord Ilchester has produced.

Mr. Kingsford's edition of 'Stow's Survey of London' is a masterly work. He had already given proof of his excellence as an editor in his 'Chronicles of London,' published before he joined our Society, in which he exhibits the highest degree of critical ability and patient industry, together with a knowledge of the history of the fifteenth century probably unequalled at least by any English scholar. He has now given us the 'Survey' printed from the text of 1603, which is as the author left it. With this text he has collated that of the first edition of 1598, so that the reader can see what Stow thought fit to add or otherwise alter. His notes correct Stow's errors, trace as far as possible the sources of his information, and increase the value of his work in various ways. While, however, they contain a vast amount of learning, they are strictly the notes of an editor and impart nothing that does not either elucidate or complete the author's work. It is no small gain to have the picture of Elizabethan London left us by the observant antiquary of the sixteenth century enriched by the learning of a distinguished scholar of our own day. Mr. Kingsford acknowledges help derived from the first volume of a book recently published by another of our Fellows on a subject of great difficulty, 'The Aldermen of London,' by the Rev. A. B. Beaven, well known as an accurate and laborious student in many byways of history. If I have left out any books published by Fellows of our Society during the last four years which seem to demand notice here, I crave their authors' pardon and yours. As it stands, my list shows that we have among us many skilful and earnest workers of whose fellowship with us we may well be glad.

I must now pass on to another, though a kindred topic. Of the eight volumes of the Camden series printed during my term of office, four deal with ecclesiastical history. One of these, 'The Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,' sets before us the character of the attempt made between 1582 and 1589 to turn the English Church into a Presbyterian body. This attempt is illustrated by documents, and chiefly by the hitherto unprinted Minute Book of the *Classis* of Dedham in Essex. The editor, Dr. Usher, has some interesting remarks on the descent of the *Classis*, from the devotional meetings held under the presidency of ministers of the reforming party in the reign of Mary. His work is generally excellent, and his volume a welcome addition to our authorities for the Church History of the time. I would, however, respectfully suggest that his proposition that the classical system was identical with that which has since been known as Congregationalism is open to question; for though in some cases the *Classis* proved a stepping stone to Independency, the principles on which the two systems were based seem not merely different but opposed to each other. Nor is it clear on what grounds he charges the Elizabethan Presbyterians with untruthfulness or prevarication in denying that they conferred Orders. It is true that they regarded a 'call' as essential and episcopal ordination and institution as superfluous, except as conforming to the law; but though some who had received Presbyterian ordination abroad acted as ministers of the Church, the Presbyterians in England did not, I think, confer ordination on laymen until, the supply of Puritan ministers having run short, after long debates in the Assembly and in Parliament the ordinance for the ordination of ministers was passed in 1646.

The Right Reverend Abbot Gasquet, one of our Vice-Presidents, has completed in two further volumes his valuable 'Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia.' No one in England is better qualified alike by office and learning to speak on monastic history. His three volumes present us,

along with other matter, with the records of the visitations of the houses of the Premonstratensian Order by Bishop Redman, Abbot Commissary of the Abbot-General, during the last twenty-five years of the fifteenth century. These records have a peculiar value. They belong to a time when English monasticism was in a declining state, and in a few years shocking reports of monastic depravity were to be made by the visitors of Henry VIII, and it is well worth noting that during this period the Premonstratensian houses were regularly visited by an official who was evidently anxious to enforce discipline. What light do they throw on the dicipline of the time? The gravest moral offences were punished by sentences of canonical penance followed by deportation for a term of years to some other monastery of the Order, where the offender as a member of another *conventus* would not, of course, have capitular rights. The editor considers this 'exemplary severity.' Be this as it may, it is unsatisfactory to find that in many cases if an offender's brethren interceded for him the banishment, the more serious part of his sentence, might be remitted on condition of amendment of conduct; for if the moral state of a convent was low, a jovial and popular sinner must have stood a good chance of escaping any adequate punishment. And apart from this, there seems ground for suspecting that the visitor's sentences were not always carried out, for I find that, the evil lives of the canons of Cokersand having become a public scandal, the bishop held a special visitation of the house in 1489, and that two of them convicted of gross immorality were sentenced, both to do penance and one to three and the other to seven years' sojourn in other houses; yet that within two years the names of both these offenders occur as holding highly responsible offices, the one as subprior, the other as cellarer in their own house. While, then, we enjoy the editor's interesting comments on his text, we should, I think, keep in mind the question as to the punishments actually inflicted on offenders of this kind.

'The Diary of Ralph Josselin,' vicar of Earls Colne, Essex,

from 1640 until his death in 1683, is to me a delightful book, with every page full of life and human interest. Along with much information as to manners, prices, wages, and the relations between a parson and his parishioners, it has a peculiar historical importance. Josselin was a Puritan clergyman who had received episcopal ordination; he had been a chaplain in the Parliamentary army, and he was evidently a sincere and pious man; yet after the Restoration he managed to keep his living without doing violence to his conscience. In 1662 he describes himself as a Nonconformist, and when the apparitor came to his parish with books of Common Prayer, the churchwardens refused to buy one, thinking the price, which was 8*s.*, too dear. St. Bartholomew's day came and passed. He was cited to the Archdeacon's visitation and did not attend. A month later he was cited for non-payment of his procurations; he went to Colchester and paid them; the other Nonconformists who were cited did not attend, and he alone remained undisturbed. The next year the Archdeacon of Essex, Edward Layfield, told him that he was suspended, but this seems to have been merely a friendly warning, for the following Sunday, the churchwardens having provided a book of Common Prayer, he used it. He does not appear, however, to have subscribed the declaration set out in the Act of Uniformity, and in 1664 records his thankfulness that he 'mett with no rubbs' at the bishop's visitation. And in spite of remonstrances he evidently did not wear the surplice until 1680. His undisturbed possession of his living confirms the assertion that Bishop Henchman did not willingly trouble Nonconformists, and probably Archdeacon Layfield was of the same mind; and it suggests that some who suffered for refusing to comply with the Act of Uniformity might have avoided trouble if, like Josselin, they had had some worldly wisdom, and had been content to do their own work quietly, keeping themselves as far as possible in the background.

Of the four other volumes one treats a subject belonging to economic history. It contains the 'Acts and Ordinances

of the Eastland Company,' edited by Miss Sellers, whose Introduction, based on documents printed here for the first time and on others to be found elsewhere, forms a treatise of considerable value. It describes the origin, fortunes, and decay of the company which was established by Queen Elizabeth to supersede the Merchants of the Hanse in Scandinavia, Poland, and the German ports of the Baltic. An admirable sketch of the relations between the governing body, the London Court of Assistants, and the provincial courts shows how a great chartered company, though it might in some ways be of public benefit in an early stage of commercial development, might nevertheless bear hardly on those of its members who traded from the smaller ports, and how the restrictions necessary for its effective existence were prejudicial to the extension of national commerce.

Professor Tout and Miss Johnstone gave us an elaborately edited volume of selections from the proceedings of the commissioners appointed by Edward I., in 1289, to try the judges and other royal officials accused of malversation of justice during his absence from England. This volume is an addition to our authorities that will be valued by all students of the reign, for while the trials certainly prove that much injustice had been committed, they do not, as Miss Johnstone observes in her Preface, bear out the highly coloured representations of the chroniclers ; and we are justly reminded that in estimating the weight to be given to the convictions we should remember that the King was in urgent financial need and was eager for the profits to be derived from the commission ; indeed, he made enormous gains out of the business.

Unlike the series generally, the 'Relation of Sydnam Poyntz' deals exclusively with foreign affairs, for the writer, a soldier of fortune, records in it his recollections, or what he claims to be his recollections, of his services and other experiences in the Thirty Years' War. As an authority for the War the 'Relation' is worth little ; as throwing light on the character of one of the Parliamentary commanders of our

own Civil War, and generally as illustrative of the period, it is worth much. The editor, Mr. Goodrick, who has made a special study of the Thirty Years' War, criticises his author's confused story with much ability, and has succeeded in making it intelligible by identifying the place-names which appear under extraordinary disguises. Poyntz seems to me, though this apparently is not Mr. Goodrick's opinion, to have belonged to a family of crypto-Romanists: he was apprenticed to a recusant, and when he ran away he joined an English Roman Catholic regiment in Flanders; then he took service with the Dutch, and professed Protestantism; then, according to his own account, he spent six years in Turkish captivity—did he, we may wonder, become a Mahomedan?—later he became a Catholic, and served in the Imperial Army; and after his return to England declared that from his youth up he had been constant to Protestantism, and as General of an army of the godly routed the royal forces in a sharp engagement at Rowton Heath. That he was a liar of no ordinary stamp is certain. Mr. Goodrick, who tells us what parts of the 'Relation' he believes to be trustworthy, is inclined to accept Poyntz's story of his Turkish captivity and the amorous odalisque. This seems to me to concede a good deal, though I see no difficulty in his mention of galleys at Belgrade. Many steamboats go there, and galleys played a conspicuous part in the siege and relief of the city in 1456.

While the four contributions to the XIth 'Camden Miscellany' all belong to the seventeenth century, they are widely different in character. From Miss Foxcroft, the learned biographer of Halifax and Burnet, we have some letters of the future bishop to the earl on political affairs. These are followed by extracts from the papers of a deprived minister, which illustrate the kind of things that many pious people of that time believed and delighted in. To Mrs. Lomas, who has done so much for historical learning, we owe the pleasant Memoirs of Sir George Courthope, largely occupied by reminiscences of a tour which extended to Constantinople and Ephesus, while our Director winds up the

volume with a collation of the Salisbury copy of the city's charter of 1656 with the Exchequer enrolment, which affords two significant instances of falsification in the presumably official copy illustrative of the policy of the Protectorate government with respect to municipal corporations.

This hasty review of our Camden publications during the last four years proves that we have been doing good work in that line. Each volume has its special historical importance, and the documents have been selected judiciously both as regards their value and variety. We have to thank the editors for the care and learning they have applied to the tasks they kindly undertook for us, and our Director for the labour he has so ungrudgingly devoted to these publications. While he is not responsible for the work of the several editors, he exercises a supervision and control without which we should not be able to carry on the series, and this entails a large sacrifice of time, a part only of the sacrifices he makes for the Society's benefit.

We were represented at two historical Congresses held last year on the Continent: at the International Congress at Berlin by Professor Oman and Mr. Browning, and by Mr. Sieveking as reporter for our Society, who ably fulfilled the object of his mission. Dr. Cunningham also kindly undertook to represent us, but was unfortunately prevented from doing so by illness. The Congress extended from August 6th to the 12th, was attended by nearly a thousand historians from all parts of the world, and was brilliantly successful. Twenty-two representatives from Great Britain were present, and Sir John Rhys was elected as President for this country. The Prussian Chamber of Deputies was the headquarters of the Congress, and the upper house was also placed at its disposal. The work was divided into eight sections: (i.) Oriental History, (ii.) Hellenic and Roman History, (iii.) Medieval and Modern History, (iv.) Medieval and Modern Civilisation, (v.) Law and Economics, (vi.) Ecclesiastical History, (vii.) The History of Medieval and Modern Art, and (viii.) Studies Auxiliary to History. Among the more remarkable papers were the

opening address by his Excellency Dr. Jayne Hill, Ambassador of the United States, on the 'Ethical Function of History,' in all respects worthy of the distinguished historian of European diplomacy; and two papers read at general sessions, one by Sir Frederick Pollock on 'Government in England by Committees,' the other by Prince Teano on 'The Study of Islam'; while in section iii. Professor Haskins of Harvard gave from documentary sources an account of the administration of Normandy under William the Conqueror, and in section iv. (Medieval and Modern Civilisation) Professor Lamprecht, of Leipzig, dwelt on the need of a system of universal history based on the history of human progress, and gave some interesting information as to the new historical institution at Leipzig, which, along with other seminars, includes one for the history of civilisation as the basis for the other branches of historical study. This philosophic treatment of history must evoke our admiration and our good wishes, specially that it may escape the danger that theory, which is uncertain, should be allowed to override the stubborn resistance of established facts. The British representatives were treated with fraternal hospitality, and those of our Society received peculiar kindness from that distinguished scholar, Dr. Liebermann, to whom your Council have already sent their thanks. Among the many entertainments provided for the historians were a banquet given by the emperor at Potsdam, a reception by the Bürgermeister of Berlin, and a banquet given by the free Hanseatic town of Hamburg to such members of the Congress and their lady friends as made the excursion thither. An invitation signed by all the British members that the Congress would hold its next meeting, in 1913, in London was accepted. When 1913 comes I hope that our Society will take its proper share and place both in arranging the proceedings and promoting the success of the Congress, and that the meeting will be worthy to follow, though it can scarcely in any respect surpass, that of 1908.

At the historical Congress which met at Saragossa on

October 14 last, to commemorate the War of Liberation and the centenary of the heroic defence of the city, we were again represented by Professor Oman, and we owe him our cordial thanks for thus twice appearing for us. No more fitting representative could have been chosen than the historian of the Peninsular War, who has recorded how the Saragossans, by holding an undefended place for two months against a well-equipped French army, turned over a new page in the history of the art of war, and who has given alike to Palafox, to the famous Maid of Saragossa, and to the townsmen generally their proper meed of honour. Unfortunately, while other countries were fully represented at the Congress, Professor Oman was the only representative of Great Britain, though the Peninsular War was one of the most important of all England's wars. It is well that our Society did what it could to remedy this strange neglect. The Congress—so Professor Oman reports—did excellent work in establishing and illustrating facts connected with the two sieges of the city : the Museum of Retrospective Art contained treasures unequalled by those of the most famous collections in Europe ; the pageants were splendid, and he received much attention and hospitality.

The fiftieth anniversary of the admission of Jews to Parliament was celebrated by the Jewish Historical Society of England by a dinner on November 30, at which I was entertained, an honour conferred on me as your President. Apart from the historical interest of the commemoration of a signal victory in the cause of liberty, I was glad of the opportunity of acknowledging the admirable character of the work done by the Jewish Historical Society, and of offering its Council and members the assurance of the esteem and goodwill of the Royal Historical Society.

Last year was also marked by a celebration of our own. We do not, as a rule, celebrate anniversaries. We should find it hard to draw a line between those that are worthy of commemoration and others ; it would interrupt our regular work, and such commemorations have been done to death.

The memories of the great are too often used as a means of advertising the exiguous talents of the small, and we have high authority for declining to build sepulchres for the prophets. Your Council, however, decided that the bicentenary of the birth of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was an anniversary which ought to be an exception to our general unwritten rule. As the reasons for this decision were stated at our commemoration meeting, of which a full report will be included in our next volume of Transactions, I will not reiterate them. Dr. Frederic Harrison, one of our Vice-Presidents, who most kindly consented to deliver the address of the evening on Monday, November 16, read us a masterly paper on Chatham's public career, and we were also fortunate in hearing a remarkably able and interesting speech from Mr. Julian Corbett, the learned author of 'England and the Seven Years' War.' As we expected a larger attendance than our Library would accommodate, our meeting was held in Clifford's Inn Hall. Thanks to the exertions of our Honorary Secretary, Director, and Miss Curran, all arrangements were made satisfactorily, and we had a gathering both of Fellows and guests which completely filled the Hall. Nor was the celebration, though set on foot by our Society, confined to it: the Press, and specially the 'Times' and the 'Athenæum,' cordially supported our efforts to do fitting honour to Chatham's memory, and on the suggestion of our Director, the Record Office and the British Museum gave fine exhibitions of manuscript letters and other documents illustrative of Chatham's life, the exhibition at the Record Office being arranged by Mr. Hall and that in the British Museum by Dr. Warner, the Keeper of the Manuscripts. To them, to the Heads of those great institutions, and to the editors of the 'Times' and the 'Athenæum,' we are greatly indebted for their support and co-operation. On the authority of our Honorary Secretary, who has had a long experience of the doings of our Society, I may say that the Chatham commemoration was one of the most successful events in its history.

The last four years have been an eventful period in the life of our Society. Our establishment in these rooms marks the opening of a new period in its history; it has put an end to our former undignified position, and has enabled us to provide far better for our Fellows, both at our meetings and at other times, and specially as regards a Library. You will remember that Dr. Prothero, in his presidential address of 1905, urged on us the importance of extending our library, and enumerated the various kinds of books, and many of the books themselves, that we ought to possess. Since then, largely through his liberality, as well as that of others of our Fellows, our library has become at least a respectable collection of historical works. Very many wants have yet to be supplied, specially as regards those great collections of original authorities of which I spoke to you two years ago, such as the 'Monumenta Rerum Germanicarum' of Pertz. These collections are costly, but they are of the highest value. May I suggest that our Library Committee should keep our wants in this respect steadily in view, and, further, that the Council should decide to add to the Library Fund a fixed proportion of any surplus revenue at the end of each year?

For now we may begin to think of surpluses. We owe this to the ability and exertions of our Honorary Treasurer. When he took office we were unable to pay the year's expenses until the following year, and four years ago owed our printers £435. On December 31 last we had met all our liabilities, and, as you see by Mr. Tedder's report, had a surplus of £251. We cannot expect always to have so good a report of our finances, but as long as Mr. Tedder is kind enough to remain our treasurer they will certainly be managed in the best possible way. To a large extent, of course, they depend on the number of our Fellows. During the last four years we have lost 114 by death or otherwise, but 169 new Fellows have been elected, a net gain of fifty-five, which seems to me highly satisfactory, especially as the Council is careful not to elect anyone who has not a fair claim to belong to our Society. Our subscribing libraries have also increased by

forty, and this again we owe to Mr. Tedder's exertions. I am pleased that, though my own contribution to its success has been small, our Society should have flourished so greatly during these years. Its success is due to our permanent officers, our Secretary, Treasurer, Director, and Assistant Secretary, and the good work they have done for us deserves our warmest acknowledgments.

And now the time has come for me to vacate my office. I do not do so without some feeling of regret, for I have received much kindness from our officers, our Council, and from you all. But I am fully convinced that in a Society like ours a periodical change in the presidentship is most desirable; and my regret fades away before the reflection that, as you have put me on your active list of Vice-Presidents, the ties formed during the last four years will not be broken, and before the satisfaction I feel in leaving my office to Archdeacon Cunningham, whose European reputation as the author of 'The Growth of English Industry and Commerce' will be a valuable support to our Society, and whose good judgment and kindly manners will, I am sure, in many other ways promote its welfare.

Dr. Cunningham, I have much satisfaction in saluting you as our President, and may your time of office be as pleasant to you as mine has been to me.

# THE BICENTENARY COMMEMORATION OF WILLIAM PITT, FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM (NOVEMBER 15, 1708—MAY 11, 1778)

## A REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY ON THE OCCASION OF THE ABOVE COMMEMORATION.[1]

TWO hundred years from his birth the memory of the Earl of Chatham's greatness as a British statesman is still cherished by all sorts and conditions of his countrymen. This fact has long since been appreciated by individual historians, and the Council of the Royal Historical Society readily assisted to give the movement a scientific character by means of carefully selected exhibitions of MSS. at the Record Office and the British Museum, in connexion with a meeting of historical scholars at Clifford's Inn Hall, where some notable speeches were made by the President and Mr. Julian Corbett, and a memorable Address was delivered by Mr. Frederic Harrison.

As some misapprehensions with regard to these exhibitions appear to have been widely entertained, it may be explained that they were prepared by the authorities of the above institutions at the suggestion of the Royal Historical Society, whose Fellows were thus enabled to inspect these interesting exhibits, which of course were equally open to other members of the public who happened to be visiting the showrooms.

A comparison of the two exhibitions would perhaps be invidious. Both were purposely small and select in character, and each might be regarded as complementary to the other.

[1] The substance of this Report was published in the *Athenæum* of November 21, 1908, and is reprinted here by the kind permission of the proprietor of that Journal.

At the same time it came as a surprise to many antiquaries to find that, thanks to the custody of the famous 'Chatham Papers,' received by bequest from the Pringle family through the good offices of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the Record Office was able to display a series of 'documents relating to the Earl of Chatham's family and private life' of surpassing interest.

Amongst these may be mentioned specimens of William Pitt's love-letters to Lady Hester Grenville, afterwards his wife, and of her own love letters to her future husband. Delightful as these are, they are not characterised by more romantic affection than is displayed in the post-nuptial correspondence, which was also represented amongst the specimens exhibited. Of even greater interest to many visitors—in fact, the most popular of the exhibits at the Record Office—were specimens of the younger Pitt's letters to his father and mother from school at Brighton. The Chatham Papers contain a considerable number of these family letters, together with a vast collection of semi-official and private holograph letters from almost all the public men of the period, as well as from numerous humbler correspondents. Many drafts of letters from the Earl and Countess of Chatham are also to be found here, but the originals of these 'out-letters' should, of course, be found elsewhere, and reference is made below to some of these in the description of the exhibition of MSS. at the British Museum.

The remarkable variety of the contents of the Chatham Papers at the Record Office was exemplified by several of the remaining exhibits from this source, which comprised Secretary Pitt's household bills in 1761 (amounting to some £3,500), the cost of his patent of creation (£853 1*s.* 6½*d.*), a later copy of his will, and several curious notebooks containing the results of studies in history and law, many of the entries being of possible significance in connexion with the student's later views on certain constitutional subjects. There was also shown a book of youthful verses, which are of interest only as indicating an early distaste for political chicanery.

At the same time it must be observed that these effusions have not been officially ascribed to the elder Pitt, and although more than one good judge of his handwriting is of this opinion, it is one that others might well hesitate to confirm.

The selections from the Chatham Papers relating to the public life and administration of the elder Pitt exhibited in the Public Record Office Museum were considerably augmented by specimens of contemporary State Papers. Probably the question of space alone prevented this side of the exhibition from being completely developed, but within these limits its interest was great. The exhibits included William Pitt's first commission as cornet of horse (not, of course, in 'the Blues'), and the notification of his dismissal from that employment; the writ and return for his first election to Parliament; one of the numerous presentations of freedom that were showered upon him by various companies; the original patent of his creation as Secretary of State; a very curious draft of one of his most famous speeches; and the official procedure of his public funeral. Amongst the documents produced to illustrate his memorable administration, preference was naturally given to the subject of the conquest of Canada, represented by Pitt's instructions to General Wolfe, the original articles of the capitulation of Quebec, a list of the English prisoners released in Canada, and plans of Fort Pitt and Louisburg.

The Chatham Exhibition at the British Museum was arranged with the care and precision which invariably characterise the dispositions made by that institution in the interests of the literary public. It was scarcely to be expected that the manuscript exhibits would equal those at the Record Office in variety or interest. At the same time an unequalled collection of the holograph signed letters of the great statesman is now preserved at the Museum, and several instructive specimens were shown from the Newcastle and Hardwicke collections. Amongst the Record Office exhibits was a letter from George III. informing Pitt that he had just signed the warrant for his patent of creation; and the warrant

in question is preserved in the British Museum, and not, as might have been expected, in the Record Office. One of the most interesting documents in the former exhibition was a fantastic German exposition of Chatham's character based upon his portrait. A group of choice medals commemorating various great events during Chatham's Ministry was also displayed at the British Museum, together with a chart of the ascent of the 'Heights of Abraham' and a number of interesting prints.

The Meeting of the Society in Clifford's Inn Hall on November 16 was largely attended, and the proceedings were of an impressive character and must have recalled to some of the older Fellows the epoch-making Domesday Commemoration in 1886, and the Gibbon Commemoration in 1894, when Mr. Harrison himself delivered the Address. As an educational force, however, even this interesting function would have been incomplete without the historical object-lessons which have been described above.

For there is another aspect of the cult of Chatham that deserves attention. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that few of the visitors to the Exhibitions prepared at the Record Office and British Museum appeared to be aware of the existence of the State Papers and Historical Manuscripts displayed, whilst the instructive criticism of some recent historical literature contained in Mr. Frederic Harrison's masterly Address was clearly a revelation to many of his hearers. The truth is that students and writers have concerned themselves with various aspects of the life and times of the great statesman, not only without an adequate knowledge of the original sources, but also, in some cases, with a complete disregard of the published results of previous investigations. This is a circumstance all the more remarkable from the fact that the discovery of the special sources of information which illustrate both the public and private life, the official as well as the political and domestic relations of the elder Pitt, has only been made during recent years, and therefore the historical studies that have been based

upon these sources could be readily consulted. On the other hand, these studies have been chiefly contributed to periodical literature, a source of information which is greatly neglected in this country.

Again, it would be found that the credit of this original research does not belong entirely to native scholarship. Both French and German scholars have pursued, almost unnoticed, careful investigations in our Archives. American and Canadian workers have naturally paid the closest attention to the Colonial aspect of Chatham's statesmanship, and to this subject they have also contributed the discovery of further sources. Possibly they alone possess the key to the racial and economic problems which baffled the intelligence of both the Pitts, and which have only been partially solved by modern historians. Similarly the beginnings of our Indian Empire during Chatham's Ministry have been elucidated by an Anglo-Indian scholar from local records, though the capture of Manila, like that of Havana, still awaits the adequate monograph that has been bestowed upon Quebec, whilst of the African trade that certainly attracted the Minister's attention we as yet know very little. Finally, for the history of Continental diplomacy during the Seven Years' War details are still needed by English writers. Our own Foreign State Papers have not yet been calendared for this date, nor are they all preserved in official custody. Moreover, they form a single unit in the array of European Archives. It is true that an able estimate of Chatham's military and naval strategy has been supplied from authentic sources by a brilliant writer; but even this remarkable work might be supplemented by a minute reconstruction of the great Minister's departmental environment and official methods.

Therefore, whilst we can probably form a just estimate of Chatham's political conduct and capacity from published sources, it is evident that there remains a certain amount of material outstanding for this purpose, together with a much larger mass of documents relating to his family and private life. Certainly the view of Chatham as a student, as a lover,

husband, and father, and as a country gentleman with a nice taste for gardening, may seem to be of less importance to the historian than the conception of an administrator, an orator, an Imperialist statesman, or even of an imperious war-lord. There is, however, at least room for the materials of such a dual study in the pages of an historical bibliography which should also include a complete inventory of the manuscript sources. It is difficult to imagine a more fitting tribute to Chatham's greatness than a monograph of the historical studies that have already been contributed towards a fuller understanding of his fine statecraft.

H. H.

# A SPEECH

On the Occasion of the Commemoration of the Bicentenary of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (*November* 15, 1708–*May* 11, 1778), at a Meeting of the Royal Historical Society, November 16, 1908.

By the Rev. W. HUNT, D.Litt., *President*.

Our special meeting to-day is the fruit of a suggestion made to me by one of our Fellows, Mr. Basil Williams, who has devoted much time to the study of Chatham's life. I am sorry that the duties of his profession prevent him from being with us; indeed, he is now in South Africa.

Although it is not, I am sure rightly, the custom of our Society to commemorate anniversaries, the Council consider that yesterday, the bicentenary of the birth of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, is an altogether exceptional case, that it is an anniversary which should be observed with gratitude by all subjects of the British Crown, both because of the immediate and of the lasting benefits which that great man's work and words have conferred upon his countrymen. And if it is incumbent on all Englishmen to-day to praise his memory and to lay to heart the lessons he has left us, it is certainly specially incumbent on us who, as a Society, are bound to investigate his work and to extract from it the wisdom that it has to teach. From two of our Honorary Vice-Presidents I have received letters warmly commending the decision of the Council. Lord Rosebery, whose sympathy with Chatham's spirit is well known, has written to me more than

once on the subject of our meeting, regretting his inability to be present; and I have heard to a like effect from one of my highly-esteemed predecessors in office, the Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. We are, however, fortunate in that our Vice-President, Dr. Frederic Harrison, alike legist, historian, philosopher, and literary critic, who has written a brilliant little volume on Chatham, will deliver the Address of the evening, and that Mr. Julian Corbett will also speak on Chatham, especially as a war minister and a builder of empire, subjects on which he will speak as a master, for, as you must all know, to his earlier works on the history of England's naval power he has this year added two volumes, conspicuous for their research, originality, and attractive presentation, on the strategy planned by Pitt during the Seven Years' War. From them we shall, I doubt not, hear how he raised England from a state of weakness and depression to such a pitch of glory and greatness as it had never known before; how under his administration the foundations of Britain's colonial empire were widely extended; how he taught England to recognise its true destiny, that it should seek expansion, and sovereignty, and supremacy in commerce in distant lands beyond the seas; and how he has left to us and to those who shall come after us the precious heritage of imperial ideas.

To say that Chatham had failings, and that he sometimes made mistakes, is only to say that he was man; but I maintain that an unprejudiced study of his career will find in it no meanness of motive. Lofty as his eloquence was, it was not more lofty than his soul. That his policy seems sometimes to have been inconsistent is true. A statesman who can never be accused of inconsistency, if indeed there has ever been such a one, must surely be unfit to guide the fortunes of a nation in times of varying circumstance. And it may be suggested that, in judging of Chatham's consistency, we should look deeper than the formal description of the measures he advocated or denounced; we should try to understand what, whether rightly or wrongly, they may have

meant to him. For it is only in that way that we shall be able to discover whether, in spite of seeming inconsistency, he was not faithful to a principle, and that principle the advancement of the glory and welfare of England. For example, was his support of the Government's proposal to continue to maintain an army in Flanders at the beginning of 1745 really inconsistent with his philippic against the despatch of reinforcements thither a year before? In words perhaps it was so; not, I think, in principle. In 1744 he had cause to believe that the prosecution of a Continental war was not for the interest of England, but to extend the boundaries or power of Hanover, that 'despicable electorate,' as he somewhat unjustly called it. In 1745 it was another matter. Then it was not Hanover, nor the balance of power, nor the recovery of the *avulsa membra* of the Austrian inheritance that he saw at stake; for danger had come near England, even to its doors. The interest of England seemed, he may well have believed, to demand that an effort should be made to check the spread of the French power over Flanders; for France had already made a serious, though unsuccessful, attempt to invade us; it was sheltering Prince Charles, who was using its hospitality to stir up the rebellion soon to make that year famous, and the Treaty of Worms had had the effect of removing the principal theatre of the war to Flanders, then on the point of being invaded by a vast army under Marshal Saxe, which we and our Dutch allies were by no means prepared to meet.

I will not pursue this subject further, for I must not detain you from the pleasure of hearing Dr. Harrison. But I would urge that Chatham's policy should not be studied in the spirit of a man who gazes on the sun in the hope of finding spots in that blazing orb until he becomes blinded by the consequences of his own folly, but rather with the thought whether he who did so much for England may not at each particular step in his career have been guided by his love, his passionate zeal for his country. In that he was consistent. That I believe to have been the determining motive of his

life, as it was that of his great, perhaps even greater, son. It filled his heart; it directed his policy; it burned within him as a flame of fire, and was worthily expressed in an eloquence more splendid than had ever been heard in a British parliament.

# AN ADDRESS

On the Occasion of the Commemoration of the Bicentenary of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (*November* 15, 1708–*May* 11, 1778), at a Meeting of the Royal Historical Society, November 16, 1908.

By FREDERIC HARRISON, M.A., Litt.D., *Vice-President.*

On November 15 two hundred years ago there was born in London one of the very small number of statesmen who have stamped their genius on our country in the sight of the civilised world. Alfred laid its sure foundation; the Conqueror organised England as a nation; the greatest of the Plantagenets created Britain; Cromwell prepared the United Kingdom and the Colonial system. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was of this order of men; for it was by his insight and power that Great Britain was first transformed into a mighty transmarine Empire, with boundless possibilities of future expansion.

Our country has known far more successful party leaders and many victorious commanders. We can never forget the three tremendous revolutions effected by the three Tudors, the splendid defence of our country under Elizabeth, William III., and Anne. But neither Crecy, nor Blenheim, nor Waterloo, nor even the defeat of the Armada, permanently changed the place of this island on the map of the globe. Nor did the Reformation, nor the Civil War and the Revolution of 1689, nor the long and prosperous rule of the sagacious Walpole, recast the whole course of modern history. This vast evolution was conceived and started by Chatham, completed, as it was, and developed by Chatham's son and the seamen of that age.

Chatham's hold on high office was short and fitful, and for its later period was disastrous and even pitiful. But, personally a wreck as he then was, failure as his entire career taken from youth to his death must be judged to be as a whole, impracticable and fantastic as often he appeared to his smaller colleagues—the brief years of Pitt's full command of health and of power were charged with such amazing outbursts of new forces, and bore in their womb such potency of life to a distant posterity, that the 'Great Commoner' still stands forth as a fascinating personality—a pathetic memory—which towers above the hundreds of keen and aspiring ministers who since the great Parliamentary Settlement of the seventeenth century have served their sovereign—their country—their party—or themselves.

One hundred and thirty years have passed since Chatham died in the midst of what seemed, both for his country and his own career, failure, ruin, and almost despair. For the first half of the last century little had been done by historians to improve or correct the fulsome inanity of the official 'Memoir.' Macaulay, Carlyle, Lecky, Green, Trevelyan, in more or less incidental pages, did justice to Chatham's genius, but gave us no detailed or connected history of his career. The present century has produced three continuous 'Lives,' several learned estimates, and a mass of new matter from contemporary documents in Britain, America, and Germany.

In an especial manner we must note the elaborate work of Von Ruville, in three weighty volumes, of which an English translation appeared last year. In this laborious study, the German historian has sought to exhaust every available material, whether printed or manuscript, in our own or in foreign archives. He has produced a work that must ever remain a most valuable source of reference to the historian of the eighteenth century. But he has not given us the monumental 'Life of Chatham' which we hope the future will one day provide.

Von Ruville, whilst recognising the genius of Chatham and the marvellous achievements of his brief era of power,

the honesty and dignity of his character, and the dazzling effect on contemporaries of his eloquence and energy, has so persistently sought to belittle his motives and his sincerity—and that by vague hypotheses and cynical innuendo in the absence of a shred of proof—that the 'Quarterly' Reviewer alludes to him as *advocatus diaboli*. And assuredly it is impossible for Englishmen to accept a portrait which at times is little more than a caricature. The Prussian archivist, though a past master in documentary research, seems unable to understand the nature of our English hero. I had almost said he is unable to understand the genius of English politics, or indeed the true evolution of England.

If this seems hard measure to mete out to a thoroughly conscientious, careful, and impartial student of history, I would point to the opening page of Von Ruville's 'Life.' Pitt, he begins, was a rock, rising in the history of England as 'a dominating landmark,' but 'not directing the stream of progress into new channels.' A little further he adds, 'no actual change of natural development was due to him.' Now, no words could express a more glaring misunderstanding of Pitt's career and the part he played in the history of England. To call Pitt a 'landmark,' a 'rock,' is a ludicrous misnomer—Pitt who was a rushing torrent or a consuming fire. To make Pitt a double-faced beacon, as a representative of the Revolution Houses on one side, and of Shelburne, Burke, and Fox on the other, is confusion of ideas. Pitt was essentially a new man—the opponent of traditional policy—the founder of a new policy.

The central and dominant idea to note in Pitt is that he *did* direct the progress of his country 'into new channels,' that a most momentous 'change of natural development *was due* to him'—indeed in signal and unique degree. Of all Englishmen between the Revolution of 1689 and the Revolution of 1789, Pitt was pre-eminently the author of the new channels in the history of England, and indeed of the world. Neither Marlborough, nor Harley, nor Chesterfield, nor Bolingbroke, nor even Walpole, can be compared with Pitt as

having stamped on our country 'changes of natural development' so abiding and so world-wide. Rocks and landmarks do not change the face of the globe. Where myopic research strikes upon a rock, or landmark, which in reality is a stumbling-block, scientific history finds a new creative power.

It may be noted that a revived study of Chatham's work dates from the present century—indeed we may say from the present reign of King Edward. And it is evidently due to that more thoughtful reflection on the conditions, origin, and prospects of the Empire, which has been forced upon our age by recent events. And if, within the last decade, the memory of Chatham has shone with a new glow, it is significant that wider research, whether in English, French, American, or German sources, tends to justify Chatham's counsels and plans, to increase our sense, not only of his genius, but of his laborious zeal in public business, so that it has been well said that 'we rise from a study of these documents with a heightened admiration for Pitt's power of work, grasp of principle, clearness of aim, and mastery of detail.' We now feel a just confidence, and we thank foreign historians for enabling us to make this boast—that

> 'Whatever record leap to light,
> He never shall be shamed.'

I have insisted on the new element which Pitt infused into politics and on the new development that he gave to our country's life. I proceed to explain more at large these two characteristics. Under the Tudors, government had been carried on by the servants of the sovereign. Under the Stuarts it was a constant struggle between the servants and the opponents of the sovereign. After the Settlement of 1689, government was in the hands of rival families of magnates and their agents. Walpole founded and consolidated the government by parliamentary parties, alternately controlled by groups of magnates, royal favourites, and parliamentary majorities. Down to the fall of Walpole in 1742

these majorities meant little except territorial wealth or influence. The immense change wrought by Pitt was to bring in the new element of public opinion, mainly expressed in the trading classes of the towns. Chatham created public opinion outside Parliament as a new engine of government—one constantly overriding political factions in either House. By means of this novel and popular force, Chatham, after long and bitter struggles, forced himself, first upon the magnates who regarded office as their privilege—and ultimately upon one king and then on the other—though both kings regarded him personally with dislike and politically as a dangerous rival. Pitt was no rock: he was rather the dynamite which blasts the ancient rocks.

In the next place, the new current which Pitt gave to the development of Britain was to turn the eyes of his countrymen from Continental alliances and wars to the vast transmarine possessions which ultimately grew into an Empire—in America, India, and Africa. Pitt was the first statesman who saw that the future of our country lay outside of Europe—across wide seas, in scattered possessions, and in trade in far-off continents. For a century British seamen had been wont to wrest the control of our home waters from the Dutch, and of the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean from Spain and France. But statesmen and politicians kept their eyes fixed upon the map of Europe and the complications of Continental ambition. Churchill, Harley, Swift, Peterborough, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield conceived of war and diplomacy as being purely European interests. So these were to Walpole, Carteret, the Pelhams, to Hardwicke, Bute, and Shelburne. But to Pitt both war and diplomacy—armies, navies, alliances, finance, and trade—were interests which had horizons far beyond Europe: which reached far and wide over the habitable globe, which were ultimately based on a dominant control of the sea. 'The sea is *our* natural element,' he said as early as 1744. 'The fleet is *our* standing army.' Prophetic words!

Pitt was the first man to see that the future of England

lay in what in our day is known as 'world-policy.' In defiance of all traditional statecraft, of all the trained diplomatists of his age, and in the teeth of the Hanoverian dynasty and its Court, Pitt made all European questions subordinate to his transmarine, world-wide ambitions and schemes. He did not neglect European problems—for he greatly contributed to the rise of Prussia, and he incessantly embarrassed France and Spain at home by expeditions along their coasts. In one sense the Seven Years' War in its result was his work. But he made European problems the lever to move his transmarine projects of conquest. He saw that the dominion of the seas meant unbounded possibilities of expansion and material progress all over the globe. He saw, too, that France and Spain were the only Powers left to contest that dominion with England. And he set himself with passion to annihilate the marine and the colonies of France and Spain. As Captain Mahan tells us, the instinct of the nation and the fiery genius of Pitt continued to work long after the war he directed; 'and it has profoundly influenced the subsequent policy of England.' The younger Pitt, Nelson and his captains, Wellington and his generals, the soldiers and governors of colonies in America, Asia, and Africa, followed and developed Pitt's policy, so far as they could spare efforts in the midst of the great duel with Napoleon. But it was the elder Pitt who first embarked his country on the splendid and, as I hold, the perilous career of founding a world-empire on oceanic supremacy.

In the short time in which I can venture to claim your attention, it seemed best to confine myself closely to the dominant points in Chatham's career, and not to attempt examination of complex details. And also I feel bound when addressing the Royal Historical Society, entirely detached as it is from any political party, to keep clear of offering any judgment on questions of policy which trench on party politics. Our Society is exclusively concerned with establishing the facts of history, not with forecasts of the future. It has no call to deal with the philosophy of society,

much less with matters of international morality. Speaking to this learned Society, therefore, I feel bound to limit my observations to what I find from the records has actually happened in the past. I abstain from any pretension to forecast what the future may have in store for our country, and from any temptation to pass judgment on what has been done, or ought to have been done, or left undone. The Muse of History, in recording irrevocable facts, has to be as blind as the Goddess of Justice, so far as concerns partiality for persons, or love of causes, matters of human ethics, or matters of religious duty. History has to submit the evidence. Philosophy, morality, religion have to bring in their verdict, and to pronounce judgment.

I wish to make it quite clear that in this paper, and in this learned Society, I am treating events strictly from the historical point of view, and am judging policy from the point of view of the contemporary standard of international right and wrong, and not from the point of view of our own age, much less from what, I trust, the future will regard as essential conditions of Justice and of Peace It is now just four years since I sent to press my own small 'Life of Chatham,' and I have naturally followed with interest the numerous publications since that date which throw light on these times. In an independent book, I felt bound to show, however guardedly and incidentally, with what grave doubts and anxieties for the future I viewed not a little in Chatham's achievements. And I notice that a recent critic, who belongs to a very different school, describes my monograph as 'perverse'—not because he at all differs as historian, but because he takes another view as politician. But after giving ample study to all the later treatises I can find, and especially to the exhaustive work of Von Ruville, I am not in the least able to revise any of my accounts of events, nor my judgment of persons and motives; nor do I see that later research has in any way affected the estimate of Chatham as man and as statesman that my little vignette portrayed. Nay, the more recent records and memoirs seem to me rather to

heighten my conception of Chatham's nobility as a character and of his genius as a creative statesman.

I note, but only to brush aside, the preposterous suggestion of Von Ruville that Chatham's political conduct was determined by expectation of legacies, estates, and inheritances, first from Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, and then from Sir William Pynsent—and that not on one occasion, but over different and long periods of his career. The suggestion rests on mere suspicion, unsupported by any evidence. It is in flagrant contradiction with everything we know of Pitt's character and acts—a man whose faults were those of passionate self-assertion, reckless defiance of influential persons, and a Quixotic scorn of prudence, self-restraint, subserviency, and filthy lucre—Pitt, who for years defied and insulted the King, though the King could make or mar his official career, who disdained to pocket the perquisites of office which every minister before him accepted as of course: Pitt, whose long public career is unstained by a single act of meanness in an age of general corruption. If a foreign critic were to condemn Nelson for his miserable vanity for displaying his orders on his quarterdeck, or should condemn the timidity of Wellington in the campaign of Waterloo, we should smile and pass on. And we smile and pass on when a foreign historian tells us that the secret clue to Chatham's policy is that his politics changed as he had to toady old people for their money.

We must regret that a historian of such industry, and in the main so impartial, should have been betrayed into a blunder which seriously disfigures a very important work and discounts our confidence in his judgment. Even when fully recounting Pitt's disinterested conduct in refusing first the 4000*l.* per annum usually treated by paymasters as a lawful perquisite, and then in rejecting the pressing offer of a foreign sovereign to accept the customary commissions on the subsidies, Von Ruville sneers at Pitt's motives as being due as much to ostentation and popularity-hunting as to high-minded honesty. It is quite true that Pitt always had an eye to popular opinion, to which alone could he ever look

for favour or support. Of Pitt's absolute integrity we have ample evidence even from his enemies and his satirists. As I remarked in my little book (p. 36) 'he was not the man to let his burning zeal for public duty remain under a bushel.' But that is not quite the same thing as that popularity-hunting was his *motive* for rejecting great wealth in accordance with regular official practice. I may take the opportunity of correcting a slip in a word of my own in the very passage just quoted. I wrote that Pitt was 'the first statesman to *extinguish* the curse of corruption.' A critic reminds me that corruption continued up to the age of Pitt's son. Of course I ought to have written *repudiate* or *discredit* official corruption. Pitt did not extinguish it—but he gave such an example as did extinguish it within the lifetime of his own son.

One other case of disparagement by our foreign historian I will note, when he assures us that the matter of Pitt's eloquence was inferior to its form. He was, we are told, a highly-trained rhetorician, but 'he was especially deficient in depth of thought and clearness of perception.' But this is to judge oratory by the measure of a man of letters, not of the politician. It ignores what Aristotle calls the ἠθικὴ πίστις—the power of the speaker's character—his genius, and his sincerity, and his will. In this inexplicable power—this magic of personality—this intensity of conviction—Chatham excelled not only all English orators, but all recorded speakers, unless it were Demosthenes, St. Paul, or St. Bernard. Chatham's speeches were not rhetoric but battle-cries. He dominated his hearers, not by eloquence, not by reasoning, but by moral power, as did Cromwell, or Danton, or Bismarck.

As nobody, since Macaulay's rather cheap satire, attempts to defend Pitt's glaring inconsistencies and changes of policy, it is needless to labour the occasions of changes by one some call 'this political weathercock,' but which was often rather his wise opportunism. He did not attack Walpole in order to humour 'an old lady with legacies to leave'; nor yet 'for objects that in all cases were eminently selfish.'

There is a certain general aim in all his inconsistencies and recantations. He consistently opposed the corruption and resented the monopolies of the magnates. He consistently opposed any purely Hanoverian or royalist policy. He consistently strove to anticipate France and Spain in seizing dominion of the seas. He resisted and ridiculed schemes the sole aim of which was to benefit the kingdom of Hanover. He denounced Walpole when he foresaw that his prudent domestic policy was about to let America, from the St. Lawrence to the Amazon, slip into the grasp of France and Spain. He denounced Carteret when that restless diplomatist was wasting English force in Continental broils. He denounced Newcastle when he was neglecting the defence of this country in order to obtain purely European alliances.

Yet, under a larger policy, he gave ample support to Frederick in his Continental wars—in men, in subsidies, and by alliance—and he plunged himself into armaments, fleets, wars, and engagements without stint, all in support of his vast transmarine projects. Pitt often made passionate blunders, and at times repented of them boldly. He was always an opportunist, and never a doctrinaire. But there is a certain intelligible method in all his contradictory schemes, and even in the worst extravagances of his intemperate invectives. And when, in his declining days, he thundered against the war in the Colonies, and yet with his last breath protested against dismembering the Empire and submitting to the triumph of France, we can now see that the dominant ideas to which Chatham was ever constant were these: just, honest, efficient administration; the honour of Britain; a vast transmarine Empire, giving equal rights to all citizens within it, and founded on paramount command of distant oceans as well as on absolute safety in our home waters.

The years of Pitt's real power have been so uniformly extolled for their brilliant triumphs that not a word need be added to the judgment of contemporaries as well as of later times. Indeed, our own age has, if anything, carried still further the chorus of wonder at the genius of the statesman

who won such glory in so short a period, and in the face of such difficulties. The valuable studies of Professor Julian Corbett on the Seven Years' War, of Miss Gertrude Kimball of New York, of Mr. Hubert Hall in the 'American Historical Review,' of Miss Hotblack in her Prize Essay, as well as those of Von Ruville, reveal to us the real Chatham in a light in which he was not known down to the present century. We now know better than his contemporaries, that success was won by admirably planned combinations, worked out with consummate mastery of ways and means, of places and of men. The biography of Pitt in these years, says one, must be read in the history of the world. His is the best head in all England, said Frederick the Great. Pitt laid the foundation of the United States, says one historian; 'a considerable fact in the history of the world,' says Carlyle, 'he was for four years king of England.' 'The ardour of his soul had set the whole kingdom on fire.' 'Alone this island,' said Burke, 'seemed to balance the rest of Europe.' 'He had made England,' said Macaulay, 'the first country in the world.' At his fall from office, foreign Powers rejoiced; at rumours of his return to office, they trembled. The historian who on grounds of international morality is most inclined to regret these triumphs, Professor Beesly, declares that 'Pitt was the most towering statesman that England has produced.' 'In capacity he must be reckoned with the two or three great rulers who stand out from universal history as founders or creators of a new order of things.'

As to the second, or the Chatham ministry, from first to last it was a miserable failure. It was an administration of such impotence, such chaos, such blundering and cross-purposes, that it is waste of effort to analyse the causes of what was one long tale of misunderstanding, antagonism, and disease. The immediate cause of this disaster was Chatham's own arrogance and impracticable temper, which if it made him invincible as a chief, made him almost impossible as a colleague. But the main cause, which was no doubt largely the origin of his impracticable temper, was the terrible disease

which embittered his nature and constantly paralysed his will as well as his brain.

Chatham's career cannot be understood at all unless we fully grasp the fact that, from middle life and for long periods together, the suppressed gout in his system at times reduced him to a state of nervous prostration that amounted to insanity, or rather idiocy. This rests on the opinion given by Sir Andrew Clark to Lord Fitzmaurice. During these attacks the patient was in a state of senile imbecility that made all intercourse intolerable, and the least act of will or of mind impossible. Those only who have seen a sufferer in such a state can comprehend the degree of moral and mental collapse which can subsist with physical life and permit ultimate or intermittent recovery. That Chatham all his life used the gouty attacks in his limbs with a certain dramatic pose, and that the paralysis of will and mind due to the far more deadly attacks on the whole nervous system and brain was not continuous, this led people then and now to believe the gout to be assumed, or at least far less severe than it was. His Prussian critic evidently regards the attacks as partly theatric devices. They were made the most of at the time, no doubt. But it is certain that, during nearly the whole of his second Ministry, Chatham was afflicted with a mental and moral asthenia which made him incapable of thinking, of willing, of planning anything—incapable even of seeing an intimate friend, of dictating a letter, even at times of signing his name. The second Ministry became a by-word for impotence, because it was a company that could only work together with a dominant chief to control and discipline it; and because before it got into full work, its chief was prostrated by a nervous malady which made him incapable of controlling or leading it, unable even to name a lieutenant in his own room, at last too weak even to obtain his own resignation.

The reasons for Chatham's Phaeton-charioteering of England's sun in the disastrous two years of his second Ministry —the reasons why he refused to join the Ministry of Bute, of

Grenville, of Rockingham—the reasons why he would never take office again after his second Ministry, and would not combine with Rockingham, Shelburne, Burke, Camden, and Richmond—all this has greatly exercised the Tadpoles and Tapers of his age and of our own. Other historians besides Mr. Lecky have condemned him. And undoubtedly, if Chatham had been a man in health, if George II. had still been king, if there had been a William Pitt not an Earl of Chatham, and if Chatham had not been the man he was—he ought to have served his country again—and he would have served her. But there were too many *ifs* to make this possible.

The essential thing is that Chatham was one of those imperious natures who will only act as master, who will not serve, who cannot accept a colleague on even terms. With a king as obstinate and as self-willed as George III., with two Houses to control, ambitious magnates to humour, adroit adventurers to outwit, vested interests to satisfy—a proud man, tortured by disease and embittered by a life of rebuffs and betrayals, at last felt him powerless to do more than counsel, protest, or denounce. Burke stigmatised 'his impracticable temper.' Hardwicke said 'he would neither lead nor be driven.' Chesterfield said that Pitt asked too much and George would yield too little. Pitt and George were both the last men in all England to yield; and Pitt and George both insisted on being either ruler—or nothing.

In his first Ministry Pitt was as peremptory and despotic as Frederick or Napoleon; and when he flung himself out of the council-room, he told his colleagues that he would not be responsible where he could not guide. Chatham had not the arts of managing men and assemblies possessed by Walpole, or North, or his own son, or by Melbourne, or Palmerston. He certainly would not be driven, and he could not bring himself to lead the second-rate politicians by whom he was embarrassed. Had Pitt been born to a throne, we cannot say to what he might not have reached. Had Frederick the Great been only an inferior civil counsellor, had Bonaparte

never broken through the trammels of his Consulate, the history of Prussia and of France would be different from what they are.

To leave cabinet-making aside, Chatham was a man who, physically and morally, was in an impossible situation ; and, being what he was by nature, could not work with the men and the conditions of England in the reign of George III. He was a Pegasus harnessed to the unwieldy British constitution, hustled by a crowd of ignoble quadrupeds, and saddled by a blockhead who claimed to be his master by the will of God, a claim from which Pitt—idealist, devout, heroic in soul as he was—seemed quite unable to get free. The Italians have a fine phrase for a great man—*uomo antico*. Chatham was something of an antique hero, born in the wrong age, out of time and of a class of his own. He was the Coriolanus, the Scipio Africanus, the Caius Gracchus, who rose from the dead in the middle of the palæo-Georgian era of English history.

Before concluding, I will notice a few minor points. Mr. Julian Corbett has, I think, sufficiently proved that the four naval expeditions to the French coast were not at all the futile demonstrations which Henry Fox and later critics declared them to be. They were well-conceived campaigns which alarmed, disconcerted, and weakened the French in their war with Frederick in Germany. They were not all well conducted ; but that was in no way the fault of Pitt. Mr. Corbett has also shown, as Captain Mahan had explained, how fatal a blow to the prestige and spirit of the Navy was Byng's retreat from Minorca. Pitt did his best to save Byng's life, though of all Englishmen he was the man to feel most acutely Byng's disastrous blunder. Indeed, Pitt was the only public man who honestly strove to save Byng from death. And yet our foreign critic tells us that Pitt acted in the affair through selfishness and timidity, lost credit in it, and was more to blame than the unfortunate admiral.

The researches of Miss Kimball and of Mr. Hubert Hall in the Record Office reveal to us more completely than before

the diligence, energy, and foresight that Pitt displayed in the whole conduct of the brilliant campaigns which secured to our race Canada and the Mississippi Valley. Pitt's schemes were as masterly in conception as they were exactly prepared in detail. And his despatches to Abercromby, Wolfe, and Forbes are masterpieces of administrative genius. Perhaps the silliest of all the sneers in the Berlin archivist's portfolio is the remark that Pitt was 'unfit for colonial government,' and betrayed a 'lack of administrative knowledge.' Or, it may be, the gem of these criticisms—more like feminine suspicion than historical judgment—that Pitt was 'the tool of others'; and if he kept out of public affairs, it was for fear of losing Sir William Pynsent's intended bequest—of which Pitt knew nothing. So that the discovery of the twentieth century is that the Earl of Chatham was the incapable, ignorant, time-serving, and fortune-hunting tool of others. Burke's inscription on the monument in the Guildhall will have to be erased, and a wholly different description will have to be engraved on the marble in the German tongue.

One of the most important new studies on Pitt is the recent Essay of Miss Kate Hotblack, which gained our Alexander Prize last year, and was read here on June 18 last. It is a study which does honour to our Society, and justifies the foundation of the Medal; and I wish to associate myself entirely with its general conclusions, which are stated with as much literary skill as solid research. In justifying Pitt's opposition to the Peace of Paris of 1763, and his resignation rather than sign such a treaty, Miss Hotblack rightly insists on the general *consensus* of Pitt's policy and shows that it was a vast system of world-policy, harmoniously grouped and solidly based. The Conquest of Canada was but a part of it; the Mississippi Valley was a necessary part of it; and the West India Islands and the Gulf of Mexico were just as indispensable as the rest. The Essay again rightly expounds Pitt's varying policy towards Spain—which at first he wished to bring into an alliance against France. And this policy no doubt explains a point which

is not touched in the Essay, and which has often been looked at as incredible, viz. Pitt's offer in 1757 to Spain to cede Gibraltar as the price of an alliance and to recover Minorca.

I entirely agree with the Alexander essayist that Pitt's schemes in 1761 were a vast, coherent, and even practicable, scheme of world-policy; and, as I wrote four years ago, would have been triumphantly carried through, if Pitt had retained his own mental force and his authority in the Government. France and Spain would have been thrown back into the position of purely European Powers of almost secondary importance. He would have raised his country to a predominance of which modern history has had no example since Napoleon fell before Russia in Moscow. Whether this ascendency of one modest island in the North of Europe would have been long endured, whether it would have promoted in the long run true civilisation or even the ultimate good of our own country, is a big and complex problem on which, standing here to-day, I keep silence even from good words. But on a commemoration of Chatham nearly a century and a half after these events, I can only ask you to picture to yourselves the mighty panorama of patriotic achievements which must have passed before the indignant soul of Chatham as he left the council-chamber for the last time as the real King of Britain.

I reserve for another occasion anything I might have to say about Chatham in home and imperial politics. To me this side of his career is more attractive than his external conquests and victories. Recent research and foreign criticism have not added much to our knowledge or modified our judgment. In a word, Chatham was wholly incapable of mastering the whirlpool of parliamentary faction in the reign of George III. His attempts to reform the representation of the Commons, the Government of Ireland, of India, of the Colonies, were splendid anticipations of later reforms, however unfruitful for the moment. In all this he was the forerunner of the reformers of the nineteenth century, and, in a sense, he went really beyond the reformers, such as Burke or

Charles Fox, who immediately succeeded him. When I wrote that his language and his schemes were different from those of Burke and of Fox, I did not say, as I am quoted by the 'Edinburgh Review' to have said, that Chatham was 'a more convinced and thorough reformer than Charles Fox.' I used no such words. I thought, and I still think, that Chatham's conception of reform was more systematic than that of Burke or of Fox—for I trace in Chatham a vision of a widely-reaching reform of the new Empire on the basis of equal rights—an ideal in fact of Imperial Federation under the link of the Crown.

Chatham was neither Royalist nor Tory nor Whig nor Democrat. Monarchist by sentiment, aristocrat by temper, Whig by education, he was a passionate enthusiast for the good of the people; and by 'the people' he meant all men within the new Empire of the Kingdom—even, I think, the men of colour. But as he always meant to be the real ruler himself, he was impossible in a constitutional monarchy, with a parliamentary system. If he had been so born, he would have made a modern Trajan, a beneficent Tsar, a patriotic Father of his People. It is perhaps true that when he told the Duke of Devonshire—'I know that I can save this country, and nobody else can'—he merely meant to say that no one else in that crisis could form a Ministry. It may be so. But after a century and a half we to-day are justified in asserting that Pitt alone could make an Empire, and that no one else did make it or could make it.

There is one side of Chatham's life as to which no difference of opinion exists—none is possible. His personal integrity, his pure home feeling, his high sense of honour and affectionate bearing in every aspect of private life. In an age of corruption, debauchery, and scandal his name is stainless—his example inspiring. Few Englishmen have ever left to posterity a memory so rich with glamour and with pathos. And his illustrious son and his noble widow lived on into the nineteenth century to bear witness in themselves to his genius and his virtues.

# THE BALLAD HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF THE LATER TUDORS.

By Professor C. H. FIRTH, LL.D., *V.-P.*

*Read May* 20, 1909

Ballads about events which happened during the reigns of the later Tudors are far more numerous than those which relate to the reigns of their predecessors.[1] They fall naturally into three classes. There are a few traditional ballads, probably handed down by word of mouth, committed to writing much later, and generally not printed till the eighteenth or nineteenth century. The authors of these are unknown; in the shape in which we possess them they may be the work of more than one hand; in many cases it is certain that they have been pieced together and reshaped by modern editors.

The second and largest class consists of ballads printed at the time of the events to which they relate. Sometimes they narrate a recent event with the prosaic matter-of-factness of a newspaper, and sometimes they comment on an event with the freedom of a party pamphlet. The broadsides on which these ballads are printed often bear the date of the year; in other cases the entry of the ballad in the Registers of the Stationers' Company enables us to determine its date. The possibility of fixing the precise time at which they were published greatly increases their value as historical evidence, and makes it easy to appreciate their political significance.

[1] See 'The Ballad History of the Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.' *Transactions*, Third Series, ii. 21.

The third and least important class consists of the narrative ballads put together by later authors, such as Deloney and Johnson, who wished to familiarise the Elizabethan public with the facts of English history. Occasionally these are of interest from the estimate of persons and things which they contain, but as a rule they are of very little value and merely versify stories told by the Tudor chroniclers. We may put in the same class a certain number of ballads composed by later poets in order to celebrate events which occurred during the reigns of the later Tudors.

As the Registers of the Stationers' Company do not begin till 1557, we are without their help for the whole of Edward's reign, and most of Mary's. This makes it impossible to date exactly some of the ballads which appear from internal evidence to have been written during Edward's reign. Edward himself naturally left little trace in ballad literature. His reign was a war of factions amid which the child king was the tool of parties, and exercised no influence over events. There are ballads on his accession and his death, illustrating the hopes which he inspired, and the great things which he seemed to loyal subjects to promise if he had lived to grow up. A ballad sung to King Edward in Cheapside as he passed through London to be crowned has fortunately been preserved. Its chorus runs :—

> Sing up, heart, sing up, heart, and sing no more downe,
> But joy in King Edward that weareth the crowne.

It prophesies that King Edward shall be a king of such might that all the world shall fear him ; already he hath gotten the goodly town of Boulogne, and when he comes to manhood he shall conquer Ireland and Scotland, and be king of four realms. Only let Englishmen not forget their archery.

> Yee children of England, for the honour of the same,
> Take bow and shaft in hand, learn shootage to frame,
> That you another day may so do your parts,
> To serve your king as wel with hands as with hearts.[1]

[1] Strype, *Memorials*, II. ii. 329.

As soon as Somerset became Protector he acted in the spirit of this ballad, and, as Mr. Froude puts it, resolved to distinguish his Protectorate by reviving the pretensions and renewing the policy of Edward I. Henry VIII died on January 28, 1547, and at the beginning of September an English army crossed the Border.

The finest ballad of the reign is one which commemorates the invasion of Scotland and the battle of Pinkie, otherwise called the battle of Musselburgh (September 10, 1547). The fragment preserved in Percy's MS. has only seven verses, but, barring some inaccuracies as to the day and month, is true enough to historical facts. The Scots were confident of success. The contemporary account of the expedition to Scotland, written by William Patten, says that 'as for victorie the Scottish leader thought hymself no less sure than he was willynge to fight. . . . He with hys hoste made themselves . . . so sure of the matter that in the night of this day they fell aforehand to playing at dyce for certeine of our noble men and captains of fame.' The ballad tells the same story

> Over night they carded for our English mens coates;
> They fished before their netts were spunn;
> A white for sixpence, a redd for two groates;
> Now wisdome wold have stayed till they had been woone.

For all their boasting, when it came to battle, they could not face the English artillery—

> But when they heard our great gunnes cracke,
> Then was their harts turned into their hose;
> They cast down their weapons, and turned their backes,
> They ran so fast that they fell on their nose.[1]

It was easier for Somerset to ravage Scotland than to restore order and prosperity in England. Ecclesiastical and economic changes had shattered the framework of society; everywhere throughout the country there were complaints of oppression and suffering. The grievances of the people were

[1] 'Musselboorowe Ffeild,' Hales and Furnivall, i. 125; Child, iii. 378.

set forth in a poem called 'Vox Populi,' written early in Edward's reign.[1]

O most nobell kynge
Consyder well this thynge

is its constant refrain.

The whole realm, it says, is impoverished. Lordships and lands are in the hands of a few. The labouring men and yeomen, who were of old times the strength of the realm, go to wrack. No poor man is able to have meat on his table. The upstart gentlemen devour the goods of the poor, and turn out farmers to make room for sheep. Religion has become a cloak for coveteousness and ambition.

Goddes worde is well sett forth ;
hitt never was more preched,
nor never so playnly techede.
hitt never was so halloed,
nor never soe lyttell fowloed. . . .
We have banyschyd superstysyon,
but styll we kepe ambysyon ;
We have showtt awaye all cloystrees,
but styll we kepe extorsynares ;
we have taken there landes for ther abbwese,
but we have convertyd theme to a worse use.[2]

Unless these things are amended there will be a revolution, declares the poet—

Yf yow doo not redresse
betymes this covitisnes,
My hede I wold to gage
ther welbe grett owtrage,
such rage as never was sene
in any olde manes tyme.[3]

[1] 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei,' *Ballads from MSS.*, i. 108 (Ballad Society) ; Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. 400 ; Hazlitt's *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 268.

[2] *Ballaas from MSS.* i. 139. The ballad of 'Little John Nobody' printed in Percy's *Reliques* (p. 346, ed. Schroer) makes a similar complaint.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 145 The economic and social evils from which England suffered are set forth at length in Dr. Furnivall's preface to this collection of ballads. See also Professor E. P. Cheyney's excellent little book *Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century as reflected in Contemporary Literature.* Boston, 1895 (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania).

The prediction came true. In June 1549 Devonshire and Cornwall rose in arms, and the rising was not suppressed till the middle of August, and then only by the aid of Italian and German mercenaries. In July the eastern counties rose, and 16,000 men under Robert Ket camped on Mousehold Hill, outside Norwich. The rebels plucked down enclosures, and arrested and ill-treated the gentlemen who made them. 'All have conceived a wonderful hatred against gentlemen, and take them all as their enemies,' wrote Somerset. The rebels had also a particular aversion to the sheep for whose sake honest men had been driven out of their holdings, and it is said that they consumed twenty thousand of them during the seven weeks they sat on Mousehold Hill. 'It was a merry world when we were yonder eating of mutton,' said one of them afterwards.[1] The first attacks which the King's forces made against them were defeated with loss. For the hill was steep, and the rebels fought with great courage. But success made them over-confident, and an ambitious prophecy of a great victory 'set out in verses by such wizards as were there with them in the camp,' tempted them to descend from the height to the plain.

> The country gnuffs, Hob, Dick and Hick,
> With clubs and clouted shoon,
> Shall fill up Dussindale with blood
> Of slaughtered bodies soon.

So they came down into Dussindale and fulfilled the prophecy by being cut to pieces (August 27, 1549). Thirty-five hundred rebels fell in the battle, while Ket himself and about three hundred more were hanged after it.[2]

While the attempted social revolution was crushed out in blood, the ecclesiastical revolution which Somerset had taken in hand was in full swing. Every year some fresh step was made which widened the gulf between the adherents of the

[1] Froude, iv. 442; Strype, *Memorials*, II. ii. 425; Rye, *Depositions before the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich*, p. 22 (Norfolk Archaeological Society, 1905).

[2] Dixon, *History of the English Church*, iii. 92; Strype, *Memorials*, III. ii. 427; Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 597; Holinshed, ii. 1038.

old faith and the adherents of the new. Pamphlets in prose and verse, plays, dramatic dialogues, and ballads, were freely employed in the struggle.[1]

The feelings of the Protestant party are set forth in a number of ballads and poems, which as declarations of opinion leave nothing to be desired, but are extremely difficult to date. Percy included in his 'Reliques' a ballad of Luther, the Pope, a Cardinal, and a Husbandman, which might have been composed either in the reign of Henry, or that of his son, so far as its contents are concerned.[2] More famous is 'John Bon and Mast Person,' a verse dialogue between a priest and a farmer, in which the farmer attacks the doctrine of the real presence, and explains his reasons for refusing to observe Corpus Christi day.

Masse me no more messinges

he says to his parson:

For though I have no learning yet I know chese from chalke,
And yche can perceive your juggling, as crafty as ye walke.

So he goes on with his ploughing.

Whistill, boy! drive furth. God spede us and the plough.[3]

Another of the poems, entitled 'A Poor Help,' professes to be a defence of the Catholic clergy and their doctrine against the attack of the Protestants, but is in reality a satire against both.[4]

There is a curious case of two citizens of London who were presented for 'maintaining their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar,' and of two others who were charged with being 'common singers against the sacraments and ceremonies.' Fox tells a story of a minstrel's apprentice in Queen Mary's reign who, being asked at a

[1] See Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (1886), pp. 49–68.

[2] *Reliques*, ed. Schroer, p. 339. This is the earliest printed ballad in the Pepys collection.

[3] W. C. Hazlitt, *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England* (1866), iv. 1; *Tudor Tracts*, p. 159. Its author was one Luke Shepherd.

[4] *Ibid.* iii. 249.

wedding to sing some songs out of Scripture, sang instead a song against the mass called 'News out of London.' Bishop Gardiner bitterly complained to the Council of the ballads against the observation of Lent. 'What rhymes,' he said, 'be set forth to deprave the Lent, and how fond and foolish, and yet the people pay money for them.' Somerset answered rather feebly, that it was not his fault if 'foolish and naughty rhymes and books have been made and set forth.' The people bought 'those foolish ballads of Jack a Lent,' just as in times past they bought pardons and carols and tales of Robin Hood. The foolisher a thing was the better some liked it. But the observance of Lent was still maintained, and should be as long as the King and his Council thought fit.[1] One of these ballads against Lent appears to have been preserved. It begins 'Wo worthe the, Lenttone that ever thow was wrought' personifies Lent as a lean and hungry monster, and ends by hoping he will never come again.[2]

Gardiner's protests against these 'rhymes' were useless. They resulted only in his being sent to the Tower June 30, 1548; and he remained a prisoner as long as Edward was on the throne. As he refused to submit and recant his religious opinions he was deprived of his bishopric. There were rumours that his life was in danger, and a ballad purporting to be Gardiner's 'Lamentation' was printed, with a Protestant parody appended to it.[3]

Another sufferer was the Lord Admiral Seymour, executed in March 1549. There are verses on the Lord Admiral and

[1] See Maitland, *Essays on the Reformation in England*, ed. 1849, pp. 293, 296, 299; and Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, iii. 123; Herford, p. 50.

[2] Printed in *Songs and Ballads chiefly of the Reign of Philip and Mary*, ed. by Thomas Wright (1860), p. 12. See also Elderton's *Lenten Staff* (*ibid.* p. 188), a later ballad on the same subject.

[3] Printed in *Harleian Miscellany*, ed. Park, x. 256, from the original in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. See Robert Lemon's *Catalogue of Broadsides* belonging to that Society (1866), p. 6. There was a ballad epitaph on Gardiner and a reply to it in just the same style, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, ii. 72. 'The Saints in heaven rejoice' to add Gardiner to their numbers, says the epitaph. 'The devils in hell do dance,' says the reply.

verses by the Lord Admiral.[1] But the only victim whose fate appears to have excited much pity, either at the time or afterwards, was the Protector Somerset, popular then as the champion of the commons, and with the next age as the champion of Protestantism. Somerset, said a ballad on his death written in the reign of James I, 'did truth maintain,'[2] and that was held enough to cover his faults.

When the Duke was committed to the Tower his servant, William Gray, was sent there too—a man 'in good estimation' with the Protector as he had been with Henry VIII, 'for making certain merry ballads,' of which 'The Hunt is up'[3] was the most famous. He had also written many things against the Papists, such as 'The Phantasy of Idolatry,' had defended the memory of his patron Thomas Cromwell,[4] and had not hesitated to give the frankest advice to Somerset himself about his political conduct.[5] Gray escaped with a fine of £3,000, and died shortly afterwards.

Somerset was beheaded on Tower Hill on January 22, 1552.[6] Edward's reign lasted but eighteen months after his uncle's death. He died on July 6, 1553, lamented in a verse 'epitaph' by a faithful subject :—

Adewe pleasure,
Gone is our treasure,
Morning may be our mirth;
For Edward our king,
That rose that did spring,
Is vaded and lyeth in earth.

In his tender age
So grave and so sage,
So well learned and wittie;

[1] *Nugæ Antiquæ*, ed. Park, ii. 328.

[2] *The Crown Garland of Golden Roses* (1612), p. 73 (Percy Society).

[3] *Ballads from MSS.* i. 310; Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, p. 32, ed. Arber.

[4] See 'Early Tudor Ballads' in the *Transactions*, 3rd Series, vol. ii.

[5] Gray's New Years Gifts to Somerset (1550 and 1551), *Ballads from MSS.* i. 414–25, 435.

[6] See Tytler, *England under the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, i. 224, 273; ii. 19. Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, ii. 260, ed. Pocock.

And now that sweete flower
Hath builded his bower
In the earth, the more is the pitie.[1]

When Edward fell ill the Duke of Northumberland resolved to set Mary aside, married Lady Jane Grey to his son, Guilford Dudley (May 25, 1553), and induced the king to sign letters patent bequeathing his crown to Jane. She was proclaimed on July 10, and four days later Northumberland set out from London to capture Mary. Then came the desertion of his followers and the collapse of his plot. On the 19th Mary was proclaimed in London, and on the 24th Northumberland re-entered it as a prisoner.

Nothing attracted the ballad-maker more than a sudden turn of fortune which cast down the mighty from their seat, or saved the weak from the power of the strong. The result of the revolution was popular, the moral obvious. Both are set forth in the unique blackletter ballad on Mary's accession entitled 'A Ninvective agaynst Treason.' It begins :—

Remember well o mortall man to whom god geveth reason
How he truly most ryghtefully, doth alwayes punyshe treason.

It goes on to quote the case of the Duke of Gloucester who murdered his nephews in the Tower, drowned his brother in a Malmesey butt, stabbed Henry VI, and found his reward at last at Bosworth. After passing references to Empson, Dudley, and others who conspired against Henry VIII, it comes to the recent attempts of traitors against Queen Mary, their liege lady and queen :—

Whom the mighty lorde preserve from all hurt and myschaunce,
For she to joyful godlynes, ledeth the parfect daunce.

When they forth went lyke men they were, most fearefull to beholde ;
Of force and eke of pusaunt power, they semed very stronge,
In theyr attemptes also they were, both fearse and wonders bolde
If god wolde have ben helper to such, as stryveth in the wronge,
But at the last he helped us, though we thought it ryght longe,
The Nobles here proclaymed her queene, in voydyng of all blame
Wherfore prayse we the lorde above, and mangnyfie his name.

[1] Collier, *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies* (Percy Society, 1840), p. 17.

Which thyng was done the xix day, of this moneth of July
The yere of God xv. hundred fyfty addynge thre
In the Cytie of glad London, proclaymed most ioyfully
Where cappes and sylver plenteously, about the stretes dyd flye ;
The greatest ioy and most gladnes, that in this realme myght be
The trumpettes blewe up all on hye, our Maries royall fame.
Let us therfore styll gloryfy, and prayse his holy name.

The nobles all consented than, together with one accorde
To go to Paules churche every man, to gyve thankes unto the lorde,
Wheras they harde a songe of praise, as custome it hath bene
To rendre thankes to god alwayes, for the victorie of our queene.

Suche cheere was made in every strete, as no man can expresse
In settyng forth wyne and plentie of meate : and fyers of much gladnes,
Such myrth was made in every place : as the lyke was never seene
That god had shewed on us his grace : in gevyng a ryghtful queene.

And where as he went forth full glad, as prince both stout and bolde
He came a traytour in full sad, with hart that myght be colde,
The same whom al before dyd feare, and were in most subieccion
The people wolde in peeces teare, yf they myght have election.

The same for whom before they prayde, revyled was and curste,
And he that longe the swynge hath swayde, was now most vyle and worst.
We se therfore the overthrowe, of al theyr wicked wayes
Nowe wicked might is brought furlowe (*sic*), to god's great Laude and prayse.[1]

If there was no pity for Northumberland, whose fate all men thought well deserved, there was some compassion for the hapless woman he had made his tool. A ballad on the lamentation of Queen Jane was licensed on November 30, 1560. About two years later a printer named John Tysdale entered either another or the same ballad with a fuller title, which enables us to identify it—'the lamentation of the ladye

[1] A facsimile of this ballad is given at the end of the *Narrative of Antonio de Guaras*, ed. by R. Garnett, 1892. No doubt 'furlowe' is a misprint for 'full low.'

Jane made, sayinge my father's proclamation now I must lose my hed.' [1]

*The lamentacion that Ladie Jane made, Saiyng for my fathers proclamacion now must I lose my heade.*

This was the lamentacion,
That Ladie Jane made:
Saiyng, for my fathers Proclamacion,
Now must I lose my head.

But God that sercheth every harte,
And knoweth I am giltles,
Although that I now suffer smarte,
Yet, I am not worthie of this.

For when she was at the place appoincted,
Her death mekely for to take:
Her ghostly father and she reasoned.
Her praiers then she did make.

Forthe of our beddes we were fet out,
To the Tower for to go:
Yet wist we not where about,
Our fathers did make us do so.

Alas what did our fathers meane,
Both tree and fruicte thus for to spill,
Against my mynde he proclaimed me quene,
And I never consented theretill.

The lorde Gilforde my housbande,
Which suffred here presente:
The thyng our fathers toke in hande,
Was neither his nor my consente.

But seyng I am iudged by a lawe to dye,
And under whiche I was borne:
Yet will I take it pacientlie,
Laughyng none of them to scorne,

[1] Arber, *Stationers' Registers*, i. 152, 209. Collier in his note on this passage says the ballad has been preserved, 'and is quoted below from a MS. written at least fifty years after the event, in the possession of the editor.' But Collier's version is a fraud of the most barefaced character, written in a bad imitation of sixteenth-century English, and trite and trivial in expression. The genuine ballad was discovered by Henry Bradshaw in the library at Longleat, and printed by Dr. Furnivall for the Ballad Society about 1870. See Collier, *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company* (1848), i. 72; *Ballads from MSS.* . 426 (Ballad Society).

Why should I blame fortune of this,
Seyng blame it is not worthie :
Our livyng were so farre amis,
That we deserved this miserie.

For my synne I am worthie to dye,
Pride in me did so remaine :
Yet all good people praie for me,
As charitie doeth constraine.

The hedsman kneled on his knee,
To forgeve hym her death :
Frende, she saied, God forgeve thee,
With all my harte and faithe.

She kyssed hym, and gave hym a rewarde,
And saied to hym incontinente :
I praie thee yet remember afterwarde,
That thou hast headed an innocente.

She gave the Lieutenaunt her booke,
Whiche was covered all with golde,
Praied hym therein to looke,
For his sake that Judas solde.

She toke her kercher faire and swete,
To cover her face withall :
A Psalme of David she did recite,
And on the Lorde she did call.

Although this breakefast be shorte to me,
Yet in the Lorde I trust :
To suppe in the heavenlie glorie,
With Abraham that is iuste. . . .

Upon the Blocke she laied her heade,
Her death mekely to take :
In manus tuas, then she saied,
And this her ende she did make.

Mary began her reign with great popularity. She was King Henry's daughter and the rightful heir : all that her people knew of her was in her favour. Naturally she was most popular with those who adhered to the old faith. A priest called William Forrest hailed her accession in 'A Newe

Ballad of the Marygolde'—the flower which by name and nature typified the queen.

The God above, for man's delight
Hath heere ordaynde every thing,
Sonne, moone and starres, shinying so bright,
With all kinde fruites that here doth spring,
And flowres that are so flourishyng;
Amonges all which that I beholde,
As to my mynde best contentyng
I doo commende the Marigolde.[1]

With the Protestant party her popularity was naturally short-lived. She ascended the throne in July 1553; on October 10 a Protestant well-wisher wrote a ballad warning the queen against the design to re-establish Catholicism which her acts had already indicated. The tone is at first friendly: it begins:—

O lovesomme Rosse most redelente
Of vading flowres most ffresch.[2]

It goes on to warn her against restoring idolatry, destroying the unity of the realm, and fighting against God. It ends by comparing her to Jezebel who ill-treated the prophets of the Lord, and 'had four hundred prophets false and fifty in a row' by whose evil counsel she was guided.

In July 1554 Mary married Philip of Spain. John Heywood produced a panegyric on the marriage in the shape of 'A Balade specifienge partly the maner, partly the matter, in the most excellent meetyng and lyke Marriage betweene our Soveraigne Lord and our Soveraigne Lady.'[3] In the first verse Mary is a rose. The 'Eagles bird,' it begins, 'hath spred his wings' and taken his flight from afar, and lighted lovingly on the rose. In the next verse Mary becomes a lion

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, x. 253. There is also 'A Godly Psalm of Mary Queen,' by Richard Beeard, which is printed in Mr. Huth's *Fugitive Tracts written in verse*, vol. i. (privately printed in 1875).

[2] *Ballads from MSS.*, i. 431.

[3] *Harleian Miscellany*, x. 255.

instead of a rose. It is odd, says the poet, for a bird to choose a beast as his mate, but this lion is—

> No lion wilde, a lion tame,
> No rampant lion masculyne,
> The lamblike lion feminyne.

Already, however, the Queen's religious policy was exciting hostility in many parts of the country. There is evidence of the circulation of ballads against it in various parts of the country. There is a deposition taken before the Mayor of Norwich in May 1554 against two apprentices for 'singing irreverent songs against the mass, and the godly proceedings of the Catholic faith of the Church,' which they said they had heard sung to the harp by a wandering minstrel. The master of the two apprentices owned to the possession of a book of songs, 'very evil and lewd songs,' which he gave up, but denied writing.[1]

The story of Edward Underhill, nicknamed 'the hot gospeller,' shows that such ballads were sung even in London. Underhill was one of Mary's guard of gentlemen pensioners. Almost immediately after Mary came to London Underhill was arrested for writing a ballad against the Papists, and he was brought before the Council to answer for his offence.

'Me lorde off Bedforde (beynge my very frende, . . .) wolde not seme to be famelyare with me, nor called me nott by my name, butt sayde, "Come hither, surray, dydd nott yow sett forthe a ballett of late in printe?" I kneled downe, sayinge, "Yesse, truly, my lorde; is thatt the cause I am called before your honors?" "Eae, mary (sayde secretary Bourne,) yow have one off them abowte yow, I am sure." "Naye, truly have I nott," sayde I. Then toke he one owt of his bosome, and reade it over distynkly, the councelle gevynge diligentt care. When he hadde endide, "I trust, me lordes, (sayd I,) I have not offendid the queen's majestie in this ballett, nor spokyne agaynst her title, but mayntayned it." "No have, syr (sayde Morgane,) yesse I cane devide

[1] Rye, *Depositions before the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich*, 1549-67. (Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, 1905), p. 55.

your ballett, and make a distynkcyon in it, and so prove att the leaste sedicyon in it." "Eae, syr, (sayde I,) yow men off lawe wylle make off a matter what ye list." "Loo! (sayde syr Richard Southwelle,) howe he cane gyve a taunte. Yow mayntayne the quene's title, with the healpe off ane arantt herytyke, Tyndale." "Yow speake of papistes ther, syr, (sayd Mr. Masone,) I praye yow, how defyne yow a papist?" I loked uppon hym, turnynge towardes hym, for he stoode on the syde of me, "Why, syr, (sayde I,) it is nott lounge syns you could defyne a papist better than I." With thatt some off them secretly smyled, as the lords off Bedforde, Arundelle, Sussex, and Pagett.'[1]

Unlike many of these violent Protestants Underhill was loyal to Mary and proved it by fighting valiantly against Sir Thomas Wyatt. But most of the adherents of the new religion regarded the Spanish marriage as fraught with slavery to the people and ruin to Protestantism. Wyatt, at his condemnation, declared 'I was persuaded that by the marriage of the Prince of Spain, the second person of this realm and the next heir to the crown, should have been in danger; and I being a freeborn man, should, with my country, have been brought into bondage and servitude of aliens and strangers.'[2] The wildest rumours were circulated by Wyatt's followers. One was taken up at Norwich for seditious words about the Queen's marriage. All England, he said, would repent it. 'We should lie in swine's sties and in caves, and the Spaniards should have our houses. If the marriage came to pass, we should drink no drink but water, and pay a penny for a quart pot full.'[3] In verse and prose Protestant pamphleteers stirred up resistance. John Bradford printed a letter addressed to various noble lords 'declaring the nature of the Spaniards, and discovering the most detestable treasons, which they have pretended most falsely againste our most noble Kyngdome of

[1] *Narratives of the Reformation*, p. 140 (ed. by J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, 1859).

[2] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, III. i. 132.

[3] Rye, *Depositions before the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich* (Norfolk Archæological Society), p. 57.

England.' Thereto he annexed a ballad called 'A tragicall blast of the Papisticall trompet for maintenaunce of the popes kingdome in England.' It pictured the Pope exhorting the faithful to subdue the English heretics. Each verse ended with the chorus

> Now all shaven crownes to the standerd
> Make roome, pul down for the Spaniard.[1]

A couple of verses will serve for a specimen :—

> Spare nother man, woman, or childe,
> Hange and hed them, burne them with fier :
> What if Christ were both meke and mild,
> Satan our lord will geve us hier.
> Now al shaven crownes to the standerd
> Make rome, pul down for the Spaniard. . . .
>
> Do you not see this Englishe in feare :
> Their hart is driven into their hose.
> xiii we burned of late together :
> Thei durst not snuff once with their nose.
> Now al shaven crownes to the standerd
> Make rome, pul down for the Spaniard.

Whether the Spanish yoke was to be imposed on England, and whether England was to be Catholic or Protestant depended on the question whether the marriage of Philip and Mary was fruitful or not. In the Pepys collection at Magdalene College, Cambridge, there is a manuscript copy of a printed ballad which illustrates this particular point. It is entitled 'The ballad of Joy upon the publication of Queen Mary, Wife of King Philip her being with Child,' and must have been published about April 1555. It sets forth the exultation of a Catholic subject at the good news :—

> How manie good people were longe in dispaire,
> That this letel England shold lacke a right heire :
> But now the swet marigold springeth so fayre,
> That England triumpheth without anie care.[2]

[1] Maitland, *Essays*, pp. 110, 158; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, III. ii. 339 ; Dyce, *Skelton*, i. cxvii. The letter is said to have been printed in 1555.

[2] See an article on *The Pepysian Treasures*, printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1906, and Froude, *History of England*, v. 517.

According to Mr. Froude the Queen's disappointment stimulated her to fresh activity against heresy. The burning of the Protestant martyrs had begun in February 1555. Bishop Ferrars suffered in March; Bishops Ridley and Latimer in October. Their sufferings and those of other victims left very little trace in ballad literature. If there were ballads about them they have perished. Naturally there is no trace of such in the registers of the Stationers' Company, for they would not have been licensed. Probably they were not printed, but either circulated in manuscript or passed from mouth to mouth and so left no trace behind them. Foxe prints certain letters and poems in ballad metre which Robert Smith, who was burnt at Uxbridge on August 8, 1555, wrote during his imprisonment.[1] But neither these nor any similar verses could be published till after Elizabeth had ascended the throne. Then, as it will be shown, the Marian persecutions were commemorated in numerous ballads, while later in Elizabeth's reign professional ballad-makers set forth the history of individual sufferers in narratives which became widely popular. One is Thomas Deloney's 'Rare and excellent History of the Duchess of Suffolk's Calamity'[2] which relates how she and her husband Richard Bertie fled to Germany to escape the penalties of heresy. Another popular ballad relating to an earlier martyr, Anne Askew, who suffered in 1546, is a much more interesting production than Deloney's, but probably of still later date.[3]

[1] *Acts and Memorials*, ed. Townsend and Cattley, 1838, vii. 356.

[2] Printed in Deloney's *Strange Histories*, 1607, and to be found also in *Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 287.

[3] Anne Askew was burnt in July 1546. Bishop Bale in 'The Lattre Examination of Anne Askewe,' preserves what he terms 'The Balade whych Anne Askewe made and sang whan she was in Newgate.' It begins:—

Lyke as the armed knight
Appoynted to the fielde,
With this world wyll I fight,
And fayth shall be my shielde.

This is reprinted by Mr. Chappell in *Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 30, and he also

Compassion for the martyrs and dislike of the Queen's foreign policy united to produce hostility and even open opposition to Mary's government. Nor were exhortations to rebellion wanting. Christopher Goodman, an exiled divine, printed at Geneva a tract entitled 'How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects; and wherin they may lawfully by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted.' Another divine, William Kethe, added a metrical rendering of the doctrine at the end. Ill rulers, who set their will above law, and cared not whom they killed in their cruel rage, might be righteously opposed.

> Rebellion is ill, to resiste is not so
> When right through resisting is donne to that foe.

England was oppressed and Mary unfit to rule—

> A publike weale wretched, and to farre disgraste,
> Where the right head is of cut, and a wrong in steed plaste,
> A brut beast untamed, a misbegot then,
> More meete to be ruled, then raigne over men.

Mary's foreign policy was contrary to the interest of the nation. No Englishman should fight on the side of the Spaniards against the French.

> For France spiteth Spayne, which England doth threat,
> And England proud Spanyards with salte would fayne eat:
> Yet England proud Spayne aydeth with men, ships, and botes,
> That Spayne (France subdued once) may cut all their throtes.[1]

The teaching of Goodman, Kethe, and others found a ready reception amongst Protestants, and there were many abortive designs for armed resistance.

reprints there the later ballad entitled 'An Askew,' which is referred to above. This begins:—

> I am a woman poor and blind,
> And little knowledge remains in me.

The copies of this ballad now extant, were all printed in the latter part of the seventeenth century. See Lord Crawford's *Catalogue of Ballads*, p. 203.

[1] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, III. ii. 102, 132. Maitland, p. 114. Goodman's pamphlet was published in 1557. Many others of the same character are quoted at length by Maitland.

Mr. Froude, relating the story of one of these conspiracies, quotes a deposition against Edward Horsey, one of the young men concerned in a scheme for a rising. It describes him as coming into a room in an inn humming a catch of 'Good man priest, now beware your pallet,' and bringing out a rhyme thereto of 'fire and faggot' and 'helm and sallet.' These phrases are all that has survived of what was perhaps a well-known ballad.[1] In April 1557 one of these plots ended in action. Sir Thomas Stafford, an exile in France, with about thirty Englishmen, sailed from the mouth of the Seine, and surprised Scarborough Castle. He said that he had come to deliver his country from foreign tyranny, and to prevent the subjugation of England by the Spaniards, but no one joined him, and a couple of days later the castle was recaptured and the whole party sent up to London to be hanged.[2]

John Heywood celebrated the triumph of the Queen's government in 'A breefe Balet, touchinge the traytorous takynge of Scarborow Castell.' Its refrain was a warning to rebels and invaders to 'take Scarborow warnynge everichone.'[3]

The triumph was not of long duration. A few months later in January 1558 came the loss of Calais, and Mary's short reign closed in defeat.

> Calais, ville imprenable,
> Recognois ton seigneur,

sang the author of a French ballad on its conquest.[4] The only English ballad on the subject is one in defence of the governor, who was tried for the loss of the town, entitled

[1] Froude, *History of England*, vi. 5, referring apparently to the confession of John Daniel: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. viii.

[2] *Ibid.* vi. 44.

[3] Printed in *Harleian Miscellany*, x. 257. Stafford's proclamation is printed by Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, III. ii. 515; and by Maitland, p. 154. John Bradford, above mentioned, was taken prisoner with Stafford and suffered with him.

[4] Le Roux de Lincy, *Recueil des Chants Historiques Français* (1842), ii. 211.

'The Purgacion of the . . . Lord Wentworth concerning the crime laid to his charge,' which was printed in April 1559.[1]

Mary died on November 17, 1558, nearly eleven months after the capture of Calais. An enthusiastic Catholic celebrated her virtues and her misfortunes in a verse epitaph :

> Her perfecte life in all extremes her pacient harte did shoe,
> For in this world she never founde but dolfull dayes and woe.
> All worldly pompe she set at nought, to pray was her delight ;
> A Martha in her kyngdomes charge, a Mary named right.[2]

Praise of the late sovereign was possibly deemed seditious by the new Government, for the 'Stationers' Registers' record that its printer, Richard Lante, 'was sente to warde for the pryntynge of an Epitaph on quene Mary without lycense.'[3]

Elizabeth's counsellors need not have been so suspicious. Few regretted Mary. No sovereign's accession was more welcome to the nation she ruled than Elizabeth's, and if the evidence of ballads is worth anything, she kept her popularity till her reign ended. She knew how to appeal to her subjects as a woman as well as a queen, and played upon their affections with consummate skill. Harrington, in his 'Oceana,' hits off this characteristic when he describes her under the name of 'Queen Parthenia' as 'converting her reign, through the perpetual love-tricks which passed between her and her people, into a kind of romance.'[4] The keynote of the reign is struck by a ballad entitled 'A Songe betwene the Quenes Majestie and Englande,' published in 1559,[5] the first line of

[1] Collier, in his *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company* (i. 22) gives the title, but does not say where the ballad is to be found. See Arber, *Registers*, i. 101.

[2] 'An epitaphe upon the death of the most excellent and our late vertuous Quene Marie, deceased.' *Harleian Miscellany*, x. 259.

[3] Arber, *Stationers' Registers*, i. 101 ; Collier, *Extracts*, i. 21.

[4] *Oceana*, ed. H. Morley, p. 60.

[5] Printed in *Harleian Miscellany*, x. 260. See Arber, *Registers*, i. 9 Collier, *Extracts from the Stationers' Registers*, i. 19, 97.

which is familiar, because Shakespeare quotes it in 'King Lear':[1]

E. Come over the born, Bessy,
Come over the born, Bessy,
Sweet Bessy come over to me;
And I shall the take,
And my dere Lady make,
Before all other that ever I see.

B. My thinke I hear a voice,
At whom I do rejoyce,
And aunswer the non I shall:—
Tel me, I say,
What art thou that biddes me com away,
And so earnestly doost me call?

E. I am thy lover faire,
Hath chose the to mine heir,
And my name is mery Englande;
Therfore, come away,
And make no more delaye,
Swete Bessie! give me thy hande.

B. Here is my hand
My dere lover Englande,
I am thine both with mind and hart,
For ever to endure,
Thou maiest be sure,
Untill death us two do part.

E. Lady, this long space
Have I loved thy grace,
More then I durste well saye;
Hoping, at the last,
When all stormes were past,
For to see this joyfull daye.

It was not merely love for the new Queen, but profound dissatisfaction with the government of her sister which made Elizabeth's accession a 'joyful day.' A good example of this is afforded by Thomas Brice's 'Compendious Register in Metre, containing the names and patient sufferings of the

[1] III. vi. 26.

members of Jesus Christ . . . cruelly burned within England since the death of our famous King, . . . Edward the Sixth,' printed in 1559. Brice enumerates one by one, with dates in the margin, the names of the sufferers, in stanzas of which this is a specimen:

> When Rogers ruefully was brent;
> When Saunders did the like sustain,
> When faithfull Farrar forth was sent
> His life to lose, with grievous pain;
> When constant Hooper died the death
> We wished for our Elizabeth.[1]

Awdeley, the printer, published a ballad called 'The Cruel Assault of God's Fort,' relating how King Edward VI reared in England a fort 'made God's truth to shield,' which the Papists under General Gardiner and Captain Bonner attempted to destroy with fire and sword. Rogers, Hooper, Sanders, Ridley, Latimer, and others died in its defence, and at last God sent his slave Death to slay the head of the Papist host, and his servant, Queen Elizabeth, to put an end to the attack.[2]

A third ballad published in 1559, called 'The Wonders of England,' gives a figurative description of Mary's reign. God, in His wrath at the sins of England, took King Edward and bade the sun withdraw the light of day from the land. Thick darkness wrapt the realm; bats and owls and all the vermin of night plagued it; misery was heaped on misery; neither the noble, nor the sage, nor the learned were spared; losses of towns and holds followed and ruin of people; rich men were made beggars, and captains bondmen. At last God relented and stayed His hand. With that the skies changed their hue, and light shone out in place of darkness. Up, Elizabeth, said God, and guide this realm, do My will, and let not the vermin dark abide in this thy land.[3]

[1] Reprinted in Arber's *English Garner*, iv. 143, and in *Tudor Tracts*, ed. by A. F. Pollard (1903), p. 259. See also Arber, *Registers*, i. 101.

[2] Printed in J. P. Collier's *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies*, p. 28. (Percy Society, 1840).

[3] Joseph Lilly, *Ancient Ballads and Broadsides*, p. 94.

A fourth ballad, not dated, but published much about the same time, sketched briefly the history of England from the time of William Rufus, to prove that bishops and cardinals had brought sovereign after sovereign to ruin—

> Wherefore good Queen I counsayle thee, Lady, Lady,
> For to beware of the spiritualtie, most dere Ladie.[1]

Apart from these ballads which the religious policy of the Queen called forth, there are during the early years of Elizabeth's reign very few which deal with contemporary events. This fact is largely explained by the censorship exercised over the press. The few which were published show the interest with which English Protestants watched the progress of the wars of religion in France. The help which England sent to the Prince of Condé against the Duke of Guise inspired a couple of ballads. One beginning 'Ho Guise the chief of that greedy garrison,' was printed about November 1562,[2] and a little later another entitled

> A warning to England herein to advance
> By the cruel tyranny of the Guise late of France,

evidently referring to the death of Francis, Duke of Guise (February 24, 1563).[3] A third ballad celebrates the shipwreck of Sir Thomas Finch and a couple of hundred English soldiers on their way to reinforce the garrison of Havre.[4] A fourth, the only one of the series which has been preserved, is 'a new ballad of the worthy service of late done by Master Strangwige in France and of his death.'[5]

Of greater historical value than any of these are two ballads which illustrate the first attempt to found an English colony in America. In 1562 Jean Ribaut had attempted to establish a French colony in Florida, and though the scheme had failed, an English adventurer, Thomas Stukeley, took up

[1] 'A Newe ballad,' by R. M. (*ib.* p. 30).
[2] Arber, i. 202; Collier, *Extracts*, i. 62.
[3] Arber, i. 208.
[4] *Ibid.* i. 209.
[5] *Ibid.* i. 203; Collier, *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies*, p. 41. Strangways was killed in a skirmish at Caudebec about September 1562. Froude, vi. 584.

the design, and persuaded people to provide funds for it. A ballad entitled 'A Commendation of the adventurous Viage of the wurthy captain, M. Thomas Stutely esquyer and others towards the land called Terra Florida,' was printed about July 1563. It compares Stukely to a 'young Aeneas bold,' and praises him because he adhered to his enterprise in spite of scepticism and derision. Men scoff at Florida—

Some terme it Stolida,
And Sordida it name ;
And to be plain, they doo it mock
As at a foolish game.

Let him remember the great example to all explorers—

Columbus, as I reed,
The space of many yeeres
Was counted as unwise also,
As in writers appeeres.

But in the end Columbus proved that he was right, and so too Stukeley, if he disregards the vain talk of malicious men and perseveres, will at last reap the fruit of his travail and find riches enough to satisfy his 'manly modest mind.'[1]

Stukeley set sail with five ships in the summer of 1563, but speedily discovered that piracy was a quicker way to riches than colonisation. He never reached Florida, and in 1564 a ballad was printed purporting to be made 'by one being greatly impoverished by the voyage prepared to Terra Florida.' It describes the golden hopes by which he was allured to take part in the expedition, and the poverty to which its failure had reduced him.[2] The author tells his story thus :

And as I walked towards Pauls
I met a frend of myne
Who toke me by the hand and said
'Cum drynk a pynt of wyne.'

Over the wine his friend tells him great news : 'Have you

[1] Arber, i. 215. The ballad is printed in Collier's *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies*, p. 72.

[2] Arber, i. 263.

not heard of Florida?' he says; 'it's a country where savage people live "who in the mould fynd glystering gold and it for tryfles sell." The woods there are full of cedars, and all along the waterside turquoises are to be found and oysters with pearls in them.' Naturally he makes up his mind to try his fortune there.

> Have over the water to Florida,
> Farewell, gay London now,

begins another verse, but the venture ends in beggary.

> Throw long delés by land and sese,
> I am brawght, I cannot tell how,
> To Plymwoorthe towne, in a thredbare gowne,
> And mony never a dele.
> With hy tryksy trym go tryksy
> Wunnot a wallet do well?[1]

The minds of Englishmen were distracted from colonisation by domestic problems which had to be settled before the nation could throw its strength into foreign enterprises. There was the great question whether Catholicism and its Continental allies would succeed in overthrowing Protestantism in England. There was the kindred question of the fate of Protestantism in Scotland, which could not fail to influence the issue in England. Hence Mary Stuart's struggle with the Scottish nobility was followed with the keenest anxiety by English statesmen and by the English people. The tragedies which took place whilst Mary ruled in Scotland and the civil strife which followed them fill a large place in histories of Elizabeth's reign, but a very small place in its ballad literature. There are Scottish ballads and poems of the greatest interest about the events which happened between Mary's marriage to Darnley and the Regent Morton's execu-

[1] *Songs and Ballads chiefly of the reign of Philip and Mary* edited from a manuscript in the Ashmolean Museum, by Thomas Wright, 1860, p. 213-4. There are four verses of this ballad on Florida embedded in a ballad on the delights of spring, where they seem entirely out of place. The manuscript throws no light on the question how the two subjects came to be combined in this way.

tion, and most of these were printed at the time.[1] Mr. Froude quotes one on the death of Darnley as a powerful expression of the feeling of the Scottish people, and a specimen of the 'flying broadsheets' in which the people of Scotland were urged to avenge his death. He quotes another to prove 'the pathetic intensity of popular feeling' about the murder of the Regent Murray.[2] But while these were circulated with tolerable freedom in Scotland, and copies of some of them penetrated to England, little was written and nothing was published on these topics in England. Two ballads, one entitled 'The Tragedy of the Death of the Regent of Scotland,' and the other 'The Deploration of the cruel Murder of James Earl of Murray,' both reprints of Scottish ballads, were licensed in 1570.[3] But the first English ballad[4] which narrated the story of Darnley's death in detail, and attributed it to its real author, seems to be the ballad on Earl Bothwell in Percy's manuscript, which was not printed till Percy published his 'Reliques' in 1765. It appears to have been written soon after Mary's escape to England in 1568, and to have been handed down by tradition.

*Earl Bodwell.*

Woe worth thee, woe worth thee, false Scottlande!
Ffor thou hast ever wrought by a sleight;
For the worthyest prince that ever was borne,
You hanged under a cloud by night.

The Queene of France a letter wrote,
And sealed itt with hart and ringe,
And bade him come Scottland within,
And shee wold marry him and crowne him king.

[1] The best collection is *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, ed. by James Cranstoun for the Scottish Text Society in four parts, 1889–93. An earlier edition is *The Sempill Ballates*, ed. by T. G. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1872.

[2] Froude, *History of England*, viii. 163; ix. 204.

[3] Arber, i. 411; see Cranstoun, i. 100, 108; *Roxburghe Ballads*, viii. 359.

[4] There is a manuscript ballad, written about December 1568, defending the Queen of Scots against the Earl of Murray, denouncing him as 'a perfect pattern of deceit,' and 'trained up in the school of Satan,' which alleges that Murray killed Darnley in order to ruin Mary. Cranstoun, i. 68.

To be a king, itt is a pleasant thing,
To bee a prince unto a peere ;
But you have heard, and so have I too,
A man may well by gold to deere.

There was an Italyan in that place,
Was as wel beloved as ever was hee ;
Lord David was his name,
Chamberlaine unto the queene was hee.

Ffor if the king had risen forth of his place,
He wold have sitt him downe in the cheare,
And tho it beseemeth him not soe well,
Altho the king had beene present there.

Some lords in Scottland waxed wonderous wroth,
And quarrelld with him for the nonce ;
I shall you tell how itt beffell ;
Twelve daggers were in him all att once.

When this queene see the chamberlaine was slaine,
For him her cheeks shee did weete,
And made a vow for a twelve month and a day
The king and shee wold not come in one sheete.

Then some of the lords of Scottland waxed wrothe,
And made their vow vehementlye,
'For death of the queenes chamberlaine
The king himselfe he shall dye.'

They strowed his chamber over with gunpowder,
And layd greene rushes in his way ;
Ffor the traitors thought that night
The worthy king for to betray.

To bedd the worthy king made him bowne,
To take his rest, that was his desire ;
He was no sooner cast on sleepe,
But his chamber was on a blasing fyer.

Up he lope, and a glasse window broke,
He had thirty foote for to ffall ;
Lord Bodwell kept a privy wach
Underneath his castle-wall :
'Who have wee heere?' sayd Lord Bodwell
'Answer me, now I doe call.'

'King Henery the Eighth my unckle was;
Some pitty show for his sweet sake!
Ah, Lord Bodwell, I know thee well;
Some pitty on me I pray thee take!'

'I'le pitty thee as much,' he sayd,
'And as much favor I'le show to thee
As thou had on the queene's chamberlaine
That day thou deemedst him to dye.'

Through halls and towers this king they ledd,
Through castles and towers that were hye,
Through an arbor into an orchard,
And there hanged him in a peare tree.

When the governor of Scottland he heard tell
That the worthy king he was slaine,
He hath banished the queene soe bitterlye
That in Scottland shee dare not remaine.

But shee is ffled into merry England,
And Scottland to a side hath laine,
And through the Queene of Englands good grace
Now in England shee doth remaine.[1]

The belief that Darnley was strangled and not killed by the explosion of the gunpowder was held by most contemporaries,[2] though the hanging seems to be invented by the author of the ballad. But the curious thing is that a much garbled version of this ballad was printed in England in 1579, twelve years after Darnley's death. A ballad 'concerning the murder of the late King of Scots was entered in the "Stationers' Registers" on March 24, 1578–9, and soon afterwards printed under the title of "A Doleful Ditty or Sonnet of the Lord Darly."'[3] The author of the 'Doleful

[1] Hales and Furnivall, ii. 260; Child, iii. 399; Percy's *Reliques*, i. 393 (ed. Schroer). Percy entitled it 'The Murder of the King of Scots.'

[2] Lang, *History of Scotland*, ii. 176; Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 437.

[3] The ballad is entered in the register thus: '24 March [1579] Thomas Gosson. Receaved of him for a ballad concerninge the murder of the late kinge of Scottes.' But instead of an entry of the receipt of the fourpence which was the usual charge for ballads, there is a blank left in the register. Arber, *Stationers' Regis-*

Ditty' had seen or heard a version of Earl Bothwell very much like that which we have. Some of the expressions and phrases used in the one are evidently copied from the other. The story which the two tell is essentially the same: in each of them Darnley escapes the explosion and is hanged on a pear-tree in a garden. But there is one important difference.[1] In the 'Doleful Ditty' there is no mention of Bothwell's name; the murderer who seizes Darnley under the window, and tells him he is to die in revenge for the murder of 'Sinior David' is simply described as 'one of them.' The reason for this seems to be the strictness of the censorship exercised by the government over all publications touching Queen Mary. It was not till long after the murder that the truth about it, or what was believed to be the truth, was permitted to be published. Stow, writing in 1580, dared only say that Lord Darnley 'was shamefully murdered, the revenge thereof remaineth in the mighty hand of God.'[2]

That was practically all the author of the 'Dolefull Ditty' was allowed to say, and it is probable that the licensing of his production was delayed till the name of Bothwell had been omitted.

To judge from the entries in the 'Register' of the Stationers' Company, the rising in the North in 1569, headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, caused far more excitement in England than all the tragedies which happened in Scotland. About twenty ballads on the subject were printed in London at the time, of which nearly half survive. One of them is a figurative narrative called 'The Plagues of Northumberland.' It describes how the Moon rose forcibly to withstand the bright beams of the Sun, and

*ters*, ii. 349. Collier observes 'as no sum was paid by Gosson it is possible that the licence was witheld or delayed on account of the subject of the ballad.' *Extracts from the Stationers' Register*, ii. 83. H.C., the author of the 'Doleful Ditty,' is supposed, on very doubtful evidence, to be Henry Chettle.

[1] There are also two new incidents—a warning given to Darnley by his page, and a verse on the grief of Mary at the murder. The 'Doleful Ditty' is printed in vol. x. p. 264 of the *Harleian Miscellany*, ed. Park. The original is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. Lemon, *Catalogue of Broadsides*, p. 19.

[2] Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1631, p. 660.

the Bull, deceived by the rising of the Moon, took arms also. For the cognisance of the Percies was the Moon, and that of the Nevilles was the Bull, while the Sun metaphorically represented Queen Elizabeth. 'Many a man,' it says, 'has been undone by the false beams of the glittering moon, and the pride of the Percies was the beginning of sorrowful dolours to many a man.'[1] Another ballad is a song of rejoicing over the defeat of the two earls[2]:

Rejoyce with me, ye Christians all,
To God geve laude and prayse,
The rebels stoute have now the fall,
Their force and strength decayes. . . .

It was the Erle of Westmerland
That thought himselfe so sure,
By the aide of his rebellious bande,
His countrie to devoure.

The Erle eke of Northumberland
His traitorous parte did take,
With other rebels of this lande,
For Ave Maries sake.

Saying they fought for no debate,
Nor nothing els did meane,
But would this realme weare in the state
That it before hath ben.

What is that state, I would faine know,
That they would have againe?
The popish masse it is, I trowe,
With her abuses vaine,—

As by their doings may appeare,
In comming through ech towne;
The Bibles they did rent and teare,
Like traytours to the crowne. . . .

Therefore with those that love the Pope
They did their strength employ,
And thereby steadfastly did hope
Gods flocke cleane to destroy.

[1] Lilly, *Ancient Ballads and Broadsides*, p. 56.

[2] 'A ballad rejoysinge the sodaine fall.
Of rebels that thought to devour us all.'—Lilly, pp. 266–70.

And then set up within this land,
In every churche and towne,
Their idoles on roodeloftes to stand,
Like gods of great renowne.

Their aulters and tradicions olde,
With painted stocke and stone,
Pardons and masses to be solde,
With Keryeleyson.

Friers shoulde weare their olde graye gownes
And maides to shrift should com,
Then priestes should singe with shaven crownes,
Dominus vobiscum.

All these and such-like vanities,
Should then beare all the sway,
And Gods word through such fantasies
Should cleane be layd away.[1]

A third taunts the rebels in its chorus :

Come, humble ye downe,—come, humble ye downe,
Perforce now submit ye to the quene and the crowne.[2]

A fourth exults over the execution of Plumtree, a priest who was the chief preacher of the rebels, and was executed at Durham. It is a pretended lamentation :

Well-a-daye, well-a-daye, woe is me
Syr Thomas Plomtrie is hanged on a tree.[3]

A fifth ballad attacks the London sympathisers with the rebels, 'whispering fellows who walk up and down' bragging of imaginary successes that end in undeniable defeats. They have vanished now like the 'northern idiots' their plots beguiled into rising :

Why walke ye not by three and three
In Pauls as ye weare wont to be ;
And saye, as you were wont to do,
'I hold you a crowne it is not true? [4]

[1] Lilly, *Ancient Ballads and Broadsides*, p. 267.

[2] 'Joyfull Newe for true Subjects to God and the Crowne,' Lilly, p. 231.

[3] A ballad entitled 'A new Well a daye,' Lilly, p. 1. See also Sharpe, *Memorials of the Rebellion of* 1569, pp. 123, 133, 188.

[4] 'Newes from Northumberland,' by W. Elderton. Printed in *Harleian Miscellany*, x. 267.

A sixth ballad complains of the false rumours circulated and the general inclination of everybody to gossip about affairs of state:

> For every one doth talke,
> There tongues contrary walke,
> And semes to meddell of this and that,
> There babling tongies so large doth chatte,
> As foolish fancye moves them say,
> So out their foolish talke they braye;
> And every one doth besie him still
> About the thing he hath no skill.[1]

Naturally the ballads printed at the time of the Rebellion and entered in the Stationers' 'Register' are all on one side and that the side of the Crown. The Government saw to that. But others composed by sympathisers circulated in manuscript, or passed from mouth to mouth till they were written down on paper, and saw the light in due season. We have three traditional ballads about the rising and its results in Bishop Percy's folio manuscript—not the less interesting because in them the facts of history are overlaid with romance, and we are able to see how a plain story was shaped and altered and embellished by the popular imagination.

The 'Rising in the North' is a narrative ballad of a type much older than those which the London printers issued from their presses.[2] It begins in the traditional manner:

> Listen, lively lordings all,
> And all that beene this place within;
> If youle give eare unto my songe,
> I will tell you how this geere did begin.
> It was the good Erle of Westmorlande,
> A noble Erle was called hee.
> And he wrought treason against the crowne;
> Alas, itt was the more pittye.

[1] 'A new Ballade, intituled, Agaynst Rebellion and false rumours,' Lilly, p. 239.

[2] Hales and Furnivall, ii. 210; Child, iii. 401; Percy's *Reliques*, ed. Schroer, i. 190.

And soe itt was the Erle of Northumberland,
Another good noble Erle was hee,
They tooken both upon one part,
Against their crowne they wolden bee.

Then the minstrel plunges at once into his story and describes the discourse between the Earl of Northumberland and his lady. He says he must either fight or fly, and she advises him to go to Court and make his peace with the Queen. Her advice is vain ; the Earl resolves to fight, and sends a messenger to Master Norton to join him in arms. Master Norton takes council of his family. His son Christopher bids him be true to his promise to Northumberland, and eight of his nine sons promise to stand by him until the day they die. Alone Francis Norton, the eldest son, advises him not to go against the Crown :

Your head is white, father, he says,
And your beard is wonderous grey,
Itt were shame for your countrye
If you shold rise and flee away.

The father is full of wrath at this defection :

Fye upon thee, thou coward Francis,
Thou never tookest that of me,
When thou was younge and tender of age
I made too much of thee.

But though the son will not fight, it is not from any fear of danger, but from loyalty :

I will goe with you, father, quoth hee,
Like a naked man will I bee :
He that strikes the first stroake against the crowne
An ill death may hee dye.

Master Norton raises his men and joins the two earls ; they muster 13,000 men at Wetherby. The Earl of Westmoreland bears on his standard the dun bull and three dogs with golden collars, Northumberland on his the half moon and the figure of Christ crucified. Sir George Bowes takes arms against them, and they turn back to fight him. They

drive him to take refuge in Barnard Castle, but they cannot take it.

Tho they woon the uttermost walles
Quickly and anon,
The innermost walles the(y) could not winn ;
The(y) were made of a rocke of stone.

Meanwhile word of the rebellion in the north country came to Queen Elizabeth at London and she received it as a daughter of Henry VIII. should :

She turned her grace then once about,
And like a royall Queene she sware ;
Sayes, I will ordaine them such a breakefast
As was not in the North this thousand yeere.

Or as Percy puts it in the modernised version printed in the 'Reliques':

Her grace she turned her round about,
And like a royall Queene she swore,
I will ordayne them such a breakfast
As never was in the North before.

She sent 30,000 men down to the North and at their coming the half moon vanished, the dun bull fled, and Master Norton and his eight sons ran away.

In the ballad, as we see, the principal theme is the domestic tragedy of the Norton family, a story which is only half told in the version we have, but was probably told at length in the original. It is based on fact. Richard Norton, governor of Norham Castle, and a member of the Council of the North, a man of wide possessions and allied to all the greatest families of the county, was the most important supporter of the two earls. He was seventy-one years of age, and is described by Camden as 'an old gentleman with a reverend grey head, bearing a cross with a streamer.' On that banner were represented the five wounds of Christ. Seven of Norton's sons took part with their father in the rebellion, including Francis the eldest. But the part which the ballad assigns to Francis was really played by William, the fourth son, who accompanied his father unarmed and

declared his misliking of his father's doings. Christopher Norton and Richard Norton's brother Thomas were both executed in London. Richard himself with other sons took refuge in Flanders, and the lands of the family were forfeited to the Crown. Thus, in spite of inaccuracies of detail, the ballad is substantially true, and seems to represent the traditional story of the rising which was current in Yorkshire during the next generation.[1]

Another traditional ballad relates the adventures of the Earl of Westmoreland after the defeat of the rebellion. He took refuge first with the Armstrongs on the West Border and then with Lord Hume, but learning that the Regent of Scotland meant to send troops to seize them by force, Westmoreland and his comrade, Thomas Markanfield, escaped by sea. So far the ballad is history, but after that it becomes pure romance. In reality Westmoreland and Markanfield lived many years exiles in Flanders, supported by pensions from the Spaniards. But the ballad represents him meeting Duke John of Austria at sea, and by his advice going to Seville :

Their landing was in Civill land
In Civilee that faire citye.

The Queen of Civill land makes Westmoreland a commander in the war against the heathen soldan

That dwelt in the citye of Barbarye.

The soldan challenges the Christians to find a champion to meet him in single combat, and Westmoreland takes up the challenge :

The battell and place appointed was
In a fayre green, hard by the sea,
And they should meet at the Headless Cross
And there to fight right manfully.

The heathen soldan is discomfited and his head smitten off.

[1] The best discussion of the historical bearing of the ballad is in Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, iii. 401 ; see also Hales and Furnivall, ii. 210. An account of the Norton family is given by Sharpe, *Memorials of the Rebellion of* 1569, p. 275. A ballad entitled 'The severall confessions of Thomas Norton and Christopher Norton,' was licensed in 1570, and another called 'A Description of Nortons in Yorkshire.' Arber, i. 414–5.

The Queen takes the crown off his head and offers herself and it to the victor:

> Now nay! Now nay! my noble dame,
> For soe, I wott, itt cannot be,
> I have a ladye in England fayre
> And wedded againe I wold not bee.

Accordingly the Queen gives him instead a pension of 100*l.* a day 'to keepe his men more merrylye.'[1]

Here we have either a romance invented to explain Westmoreland's Spanish pension, or, perhaps, a repetition of some older romantic legend going back to the times when English volunteers fought against the Moors in Spain.

The third of these traditional ballads is entitled 'Northumberland betrayed by Douglas.' The Earl of Northumberland took refuge in the Debateable Land, and was delivered up by Hector Armstrong to the soldiers of the Regent Murray in December 1570. The Regent committed him to Lochleven Castle, where he remained till June 1572, when William Douglas, his keeper, sold him to Lord Hunsdon, the Governor of Berwick, for two thousand pounds. He was then made over to Sir John Forster, the Warden of the Middle Marches, and beheaded at York on August 27, 1572.[2]

In both countries the treachery of Armstrong and Douglas excited general indignation. In Scotland we are told 'generally all sorts both men and women, cry out for the liberty of their country; which is to succor banisht men, as themselves have been received in England not long since, and is the freedom of all countries, as they allege.'

> Who shall hereafter trust a Scot,
> Or who shall do that nation good,
> That so themselves do stayne and blott
> In selling of such noble blood?

wrote one Englishman.[3]

[1] 'The Earl of Westmoreland,' Hales and Furnivall, i. 292; Child, iii. 416; cf. Sharpe, *Memorials of the Rebellion of* 1569, pp. 289–304.

[2] Child, iii. 408; Hales and Furnivall, ii. 217; Sharpe, p. 125.

[3] 'The Copie of a ryme made by one Singleton, a gentleman of Lancashire, now prisoner at York for religion.' Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, i. 432.

Quho list to mark the Scottisch gyse
Or knaw the customis of thair kyndis,
Sall weill persave thair craftie wyse,
And fals, dissaitfull, doubill myndys,

wrote another.[1]

The ballad founded on these historical facts relates the details of the betrayal. Douglas invites Northumberland to accompany him to a shooting in the North of Scotland, beguiles him on board a ship, and then sails for Berwick and hands him over to Hunsdon. But a romantic element is brought into this simple story by the introduction of Mary Douglas, sister of the false William. She warns Northumberland against accompanying her brother, for it is hinted that she loves him; moreover she has supernatural gifts:

My mother she was a witch woman,
And part of itt shee learned mee;
Shee wold let me see out of Lough Leven
What they dyd in London cytye.

She makes Northumberland's steward look through her magic ring and shows him his master's enemies waiting for him at Berwick. There is Lord Hunsdon 'walking royally on the green' and behind him the austere face of Sir John Forster. But Northumberland is deaf to all these warnings, and goes obstinately to his doom. When they have sailed fifty miles at sea he sends his servant to ask William Douglas how far it is to the shooting. In return he gets a scoffing answer:

He sayes fayre words makes fooles faine,
And that may be seene by you and mee,
For we may happen thinke it soone enough
Whenever wee that shooting see.

He sends again as they draw nearer to land. 'Make ready your bridle,' says Douglas, 'and see that your spurs be

[1] 'Ane Exclamation maid in England upone the delyverance of the Erle of Northumberland.' Cranstoun, i. 240 (from a Scottish MS., though written by an Englishman).

bright and sharp,' and then the Earl knows that he is being jeered at:

A false Hector hath my horse,
And ever an evill death may he dye,
And Willy Armestrong hath my spurres
And all the geere belongs to mee.

So he comes to the end of his journey, and we leave him landing at Berwick with the shadow of death over him.

These three traditional ballads, fragmentary and corrupt as they are, have touches of poetry and romance lacking in those poured forth from the London press. Composed and handed down in Northern England, they are survivals of older literary forms, and relics of an older world. So they help us to understand the difference between the modern England which was growing up in the South, and the medieval England which lingered in the North.

The two earls whose fortunes have been traced were not the only great noblemen who suffered for their adherence to Catholicism and their treasonable plots. On June 2, 1572, Thomas Howard, Earl of Norfolk, was beheaded on Tower Hill. Elderton, the balladmonger, pointed the moral of his fate:

Our people of England that hold with the pope,
May see the preferments that followe the same;
Both highest and lowest he brings to the rope,
And straungers and tyrants do laugh at the game.
You see by good triall, what coms of the Duke,
Turne yet to the Diall of God's holie book.[1]

One of the natural results of the rebellion in 1569, as this quotation indicates, had been to embitter the minds of Englishmen against Catholicism and its adherents. About 1570 there was an outburst of ballads against the Pope. One of the first examples of this was entitled

A Lamentation from Rome how the Pope doth bewayle
That rebelles in England can not prevayle.

[1] 'The Dekaye of the Duke,' *Harleian Miscellany*, x. 270.

It describes how Pius V rejoiced when he heard that the rising had begun, and roared and cried and wrung his hands when the news of its suppression reached him.[1] The feeling grew still stronger when Pius V excommunicated Queen Elizabeth.[2] 'The most part of the modester sort of Papists secretly misliked this Bull,' says Camden, but a young Catholic gentleman named Felton nailed it on the door of the Bishop of London's house in order to advertise to Elizabeth's subjects the fact that she was deposed and they were absolved from their allegiance (May 25). Felton was caught and executed for high treason (August 8). This naturally called forth a number of ballads, in which the Bull and its author are treated with considerable humour and freedom:

Was never world so farre from orders rule,
That men durst speake such sawcie words of kinges,
Nor never pope so lyke an asse or mule
Or dunghyll cocke, to crow and clap his winges.
Stand backe, good dogs, the bul he leapes and flinges,
He bleates and bleathes as he a-baighting were,
And fomes at mouth, lyke boare with bristled heare;
A beastly sound comes runnyng from his paunch,
He beates the ground with foote, with hip and haunch,
As though hell gates should open at his call
And at his becke the heavens high should fall.

O Sathan's sonne! O pope puft up with pryde!
What makes thee clayme the clowdes where God doth dwel,
When thou art knowne the glorious greedy guyde
That leades in pompe poore seelye soules to hell?[3]

Next came

A Letter to Rome to declare to the Pope
John Felton his Freend is hanged in a rope.

[1] Collier, *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies*, p. 68; Arber, *Registers*, i. 405.

[2] The Bull is printed at length by Camden, *Annals*, ed. 1630, bk. ii. p. 7.

[3] 'The braineles blessing of the Bull.' Lilly, *A Collection of Seventy Nine Black-letter Ballads*, p. 224; cf. Arber, i. 436.

It pictures the arrival of the messenger at the gate of the Castle of St. Angelo with the tidings:

The Bull so lately sent
To England by your holy grace,
John Felton may repent,
For settyng of the same in place;
For he upon a goodly zeale,
He bare unto your commonweale,
Hath ventured lyfe to pleasure you,
And now is hangd, I tell you true.
Wherefore, sir Pope,
In England have you lost your hope.
Curse on, spare not,
Your knights are lyke to go to pot.[1]

The third of these ballads pictures the Pope's reception of the news:

The Pope in his fury doth answer returne
To a letter the which to Rome is late come.

Since there is no remedy all he can do, he says, is to 'curse and ban.' If he could he would give Felton's body solemn burial and preserve his relics. He would make England feel his wrath:

And gladly wolde I be revengd
On England, yf I might,
Because they have toe much abusd
My Bull with great despight:
And make thereat a laughing game,
And set but little by my name,
And much my holynes defame,
And dayly me dispyse.[2]

Felton was but one of a long series of sufferers on the scaffold whose ends form the theme of ballads. Some suffered for treason, others for religion, most for a mixture of the two. Ballad writers made no distinction, classed martyrs and traitors together, and exulted over their execu-

[1] J. P. Collier, *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies* (1840), p. 65. The original is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. See also Arber, i. 437.

[2] Lilly, p. 33; Arber, i. 438.

tions. 'So may all the Queen's enemies perish' is the usual sentiment. The barbarities which attended Elizabethan executions did not revolt the men of that age; they felt neither pity for the sufferers nor any shrinking from the sight of their sufferings. On the contrary, the London crowd often openly rejoiced as the doomed man made his way to the scaffold. As Dr. Story, in 1571, after being sentenced to death, was led back to the Tower, the pamphlet records the exhortations and jeers of those who met him on his way. 'Among the rest one came to him, at London-Stone, and saluted him with this metre, saying:

> Master Doctor Story,
> For you they are right sorry,
> The Court of Lovaine and Rome;
> Your Holy Father the Pope
> Cannot save you from Rope,
> The Hangman must have your Gown.

To whom he answered not one word.'[1]

The sufferer whose death attracted most attention was Edmund Campion, executed in 1581.[2] Campion challenged Protestant divines to dispute with him the religious and political questions at issue:

> He looks for his life they say to dispute,
> And doubts not our doctrine he brags to confute;
> Yf insteede of good argument we deale by the racke,
> The papists may thinke that learning we lacke.[3]

Accordingly a disputation took place in the Tower Chapel between the prisoner and the Deans of St. Paul and Windsor on the last day of August 1581, in which both sides naturally claimed the victory. Then after the argument of the rack had been tried Campion and two others were arraigned, condemned, and executed. Three poems on his death were

[1] 'Declaration of the Life and Death of John Story' (1571), in *Phœnix Britannicus* (1732), p. 293. A ballad called 'The welcome home of Dr. Story' was licensed in 1576, Arber, i. 440, 443. See also Camden, ii. 30.

[2] A lost ballad entitled 'Mr. Campion the seditious Jesuit, his welcome to London,' was licensed on July 24, 1581. Arber, *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 397.

[3] *Ballads from Manuscripts*, ii. 164.

privately printed, answered line by line in three parodies of them by Anthony Munday.[1] Whatever may be thought of the result of the disputation between the clergy, the Catholic champions in this verse disputation write the better poetry. Munday's verses express little but personal malignity. 'The Complaynte of a Catholike for Mr. Edmund Campion' expresses the spirit of militant Catholicism and the feeling which produced so many willing sufferers in its cause.

O God, from sacred throne behold
Our secret sorrowes here,
Regard with grace our helplesse griefe,
Amend our mournfull cheere.
The bodies of thy saints abrode
Are set for foules to feede,
And brutish birdes devour the flesh
Of faithfull folke indeede.
. . . . . .
God knowes it is not force nor might,
Not warre nor warlike band,
Not shield and spear, not dint of sword,
That must convert the land :
It is the blood by martirs shed,
It is that noble traine,
That fight with word and not with sword,
And Christ their Capitaine.
For sooner shall you want the handes
To shed sutch guiltles blood
Than wise and vertuous still to come
To do theyr country good.[2]

Many of those who suffered, however, were much less interesting characters than Campion, and anything but guiltless. Throgmorton, for instance, who was executed at Tyburn on July 10, 1584, undoubtedly conspired with the Spanish Ambassador for a foreign invasion and a Catholic insurrection. 'England's Lamentation for the late Treason conspired against the Qyeenes Majestie by Francis Throgmorton' represents England 'with brinish and sobbing sighes' weeping to think of the dangers that Queen and realm are

[1] *Ballads from Manuscripts*, pp. 157–194. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 177–8.

in from the existence of such traitors.[1] Two years later 'A proper New Ballad breefely declaring the death and execution of 14 most wicked Traitors, who suffered death in Lincolnes Inne feelde neere London, the 20 and 21 of September 1586' summoned Englishmen to rejoice over the punishment of Babington and his fellow plotters :—

Rejoyce in hart, good people all,
Sing praise to God on hye
Which hath preserved us by his power
From traitors tyranny;
Which now have had their due desarts,
In London lately seene;
And Ballard was the first that died
For treason to our Queene.

*Chorus.* O praise the Lord with hart and minde,
Sing praise with voices cleere,
Sith traiterous crue have had their due,
To quaile their parteners cheere.[2]

A second ballad gives still stronger testimony to the reality of this joy. Babington and four of his associates, hearing that their arrest was intended, had concealed themselves in St. John's Wood :—

Their treasons once discovered, then were the traytors sought:
Some of them fled into a Wood, where after they were caught,
And being brought unto the Tower, for joye the belles did ring,
And throughout London Bonfiers made, where people Psalmes did sing.
And set their tables in the streates with meates of every kinde,
Where was preparde all signes of joye that could be had in mind,
And praisde the Lord most hartely, that with his mightie hand
He had preserved our gracious Queene and people of this land.[3]

[1] *Broadside Blackletter Ballads*, printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, chiefly in the possession of J. Payne Collier (1868), p. 21.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 36.

[3] 'A Short Discourse expressing the substaunce of all the late pretended Treasons, &c.' by Thomas Nelson. *Fugitive Tracts written in Verse* (from the library of H. Huth), 1875, vol. i. This volume also contains three other collections of verses: 'Verses of Prayse and Joye written upon her Majesties preservation,' 1586; 'Certaine Englishe Verses presented unto the Queen's most excellent Majestie,' by a Courtier, 1586; and 'A dutiful Invective against the moste haynous

Queen Elizabeth thanked the citizens for their loyalty in a letter printed in Stow's 'Chronicle.'[1]

Two years later, in August 1588, six priests were hanged for remaining in England contrary to statute, and with them four laymen for being reconciled to the Church of Rome, and four other persons for aiding and relieving them. This also was celebrated in a ballad :—

You traitors all that doo devise,
To hurt our Queene in treacherous wise,
And in your hartes doo still surmize
Which way to hurt our England,
Consider what the end will be
Of traitors all in their degree,
Hanging is still their destenye,
That troble the peace of England.[2]

The fixed resolve to maintain the peace of England was responsible for many cruel laws, though it was at the same time the source of much loyalty and self-sacrifice. It was this resolve that inspired Queen Elizabeth's policy, as it is set forth in the 'ditty of her majesty's own making, passing sweet and harmonical' which was published in 1589.[3] No one, she declared in those verses, shall sow discord in the soil where former rule hath taught peace to grow: the edge of our sword shall 'poll their tops that seek such change.' The loyalty of her subjects was mainly due to the sense that on her life the continuance of their peace depended :—

Jehovah! with our joined hands
And hartes replete with joy,
We praise thee for our noble queene
The shield of our annoy.

Treasons of Ballard and Babington . . . set foorth in English verse for a New-yeares gifte to all loyall English subjects,' by W. Kempe, 1587. See also 'The Complaynte of Anthony Babington,' in *A Poore Mans Pittance* by Richard Williams. *Ballads from Manuscripts*, ii. 5.

[1] Stow's *Chronicle*, ed. 1631, p. 728.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 750. 'A Warning to all false Traitors.' Collier, *Broadside Black-letter Ballads*, p. 57.

[3] Printed in Puttenham's *Art of Poetry*, 1589, p. 208; cf. Hannah, *Court Poets*, p. 136.

Not we, not we, oh great Jehove!
Not we, but thy right hande,
Hath wrought this calme and quiet state,
In this our English lande.
Great Bulles of Bashan roare aloud,
Great curse from Balac comes;
Each foreyn ear is filled with fight
And sound of fearfull drums . . .
And whilst these woes do wander thus,
As forein coastes have tride,
Thine English people, Lord, dwell safe;
With them doth peace abide.[1]

So sang one poet in 1575. Another, two years later, printed 'A prayer and also thanks unto God for his great mercy in giving and preserving our noble Queene Elizabeth to reign over us . . . to be sung the 17 day of November 1577.'[2] A third example is furnished by 'A famous dittie of the joyful receaving of the Queens most excellent majestie by the worthy citizens of London the 12 day of November 1584.' The members of the City companies with torches in their hand lined the streets as the Queen in her open chariot rode through London:—

And always, as she went along,
The people cried with might and main,
O Lord preserve your noble grace,
And all your secret foes deface!
God blesse and keep our noble queen,
Whose like on earth was never seen![3]

A fourth specimen of these loyal hymns is 'A Godlie Dittie to be sung for the Preservation of the Queen's most excellent Majesties Raigne,' published with the music added in 1586.[4]

The Queen's life was in danger not merely from plots,

[1] Edward Hake's 'A Commemoration of the most prosperous and peaceable reign of our . . . . Soveraign Lady Elizabeth,' 1575. *Harleian Miscellany*, ix. 127.

[2] By I. Pitt, minister. Printed by Collier, *Broadside Black-letter Ballads*, p. 16.

[3] Lilly, *Ancient Ballads and Broadsides*, p. 182.

[4] *Harleian Miscellany*, x. 278.

but from accidents. On the evening of July 17, 1578, as she was taking the air on the Thames, a careless serving man fired a gun at random and sent a bullet through the arms of one of the watermen who was rowing the Queen's barge. Thomas Appletree, who fired the shot, was arrested and condemned to be hanged for endangering her Majesty's life. A ballad by Elderton dwells on the courage of the Queen who, though the bullet passed within six feet of her, was not in the least dismayed, but stepped to the wounded man and bade him be of good cheer, and was readier to help than all the noblemen there; and extols the mercy with which she pardoned the criminal at the foot of the gallows.[1] The moral of the story is put in the mouth of the captain of the Queen's guard, who brought the pardon:—

And told againe, if that mishap had happened on her grace,
The staie of true religion, how perlous were the case:
Which might have turnde to bloody warres, of strange and forreign foes,
Alas! how had we been accurste, our comforte so to loose.

The chorus sets forth the grief of all good subjects:—

Weepe, weepe, still I weepe, and shall do till I dye,
To thinke upon the gun was shot, at court so dangerously.[1]

The fifteen years from the suppression of the rising in the North in 1570 to the expedition of Leicester to Holland in 1585, form a well-defined period in Elizabeth's reign. England was on the defensive for the whole time, exposed to constant threats of attack from abroad, and to continual plots at home. The policy of the Queen was to play off France against Spain and to avoid as long as possible an open breach with Spain. Her domestic policy was consistent and firm enough, but she took no decided action in European affairs.

From the evidence of the ballads it would seem as if Englishmen, during these years, took but a languid and intermittent interest in Continental events. Yet during these

[1] 'A newe ballad declaryng the daungerous shootyng of the gunne at the Courte,' *Harleian Miscellany*, x. 272.

fifteen years three events happened abroad which attracted great attention in England, though there is little trace of them in the ballad literature which has come down to us. The first of these was the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572. There must have been English ballads on the subject, but since the volume of the 'Stationers' Register' covering the period from the middle of 1571 to July 17, 1576, is now missing, it is impossible to give their titles. All we have is 'Ane new Ballet set out be ane fugitive Scottisman, that fled out of Paris at this lait Murther.' It ends with a warning that the murderous Frenchmen are going to attack Scotland and England, and an exhortation to the two nations to stand together against them.[1] Another ballad dealing with the sufferings of the Huguenots is that entitled 'A rare example of a Vertuous Maid in Paris, who was by her own mother procured to be put in prison, thinking thereby to compel her to Popery; but she continued to the end and finished her life in the fire.'[2]

The second of these events was the sack of Antwerp by the Spaniards in November 1576, 'The Spanish Fury.' Two ballads are entered in the 'Stationers' Registers' on the subject, one 'A Warning Song to all Cities to beware by Antwerps fall on January 25, 1577'; the other entitled 'Heavy News to all Christendom from the woeful town of Antwerp come' (July 1, 1577).[3] Neither of these is in existence, but there is a warning to London by the 'Fall of Antwerp,' written by Ralph Norris, which has been preserved. In it moral and military exhortations are mixed together:—

Let Antwerp warning be,
Thou stately London, to beware,
Lest resting in thy glee
Thou wrapst thyself in wretched care.

[1] Lilly, p. 37; Cranstoun, *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, p. 257; T. G. Stevenson, *The Sempill Ballates*, 1872.

[2] Printed in *Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 35 (from a copy published in the reign of Charles II). See Collier, *Extracts*, ii. 199, 213; Arber, *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 450, 454. The original seems to have been licensed August 1, 1586.

[3] Arber, *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 308, 313; Collier, *Extracts*, ii. 29, 41.

Be vigilant, sleepe not in sin,
Lest that thy foe doo enter in :
Keep sure thy trench, prepare thy shot
Watch wel, so shall no foil be got.
Stand fast, play thy part ;
Quail not, but shew an English hart.
Dout, dread, still fear,
For Antwerps plague approcheth neer : [1]

For a time Antwerp seems to have replaced Jerusalem, Nineveh, or Sodom as an example of edification for wicked Londoners.

A third event which excited the greatest interest not in England only but throughout Christendom was the death of Sebastian, King of Portugal, at the battle of Alcazar in 1578 —an event which led to the Spanish conquest of Portugal two years later. On February 19, 1579, Edward White registered a ballad called 'a brief rehearsal of the bloody battle fought in Barbary.' Twenty-two years later the legends to which the fate of the Portuguese king gave rise were embodied in another ballad entitled 'The Wonder of the World, of Don Sebastian the king of Portugal that lost himself in the battle of Afric anno 1578.' [2] Both these ballads have perished, but the event was commemorated in two plays, 'The battle of Alcazar,' and 'The Famous History of the Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukely.' From this second play was derived the ballad on 'The Life and Death of the famous Thomas Stukely,' which was so popular during the seventeenth century that copies of it are to be found in all the chief collections of broadside ballads.[3]

Stukely had designed to invade Ireland, and had raised 800 Italian soldiers for the purpose with money supplied by Pope Gregory, but had been diverted from his original purpose by the promises of King Sebastian. But the

[1] J. P. Collier, *Old Ballads from Early Printed Copies*, p. 89.

[2] Arber, ii. 347 ; iii. 182. The second ballad was entered April 12, 1601. See also Froude, x. 477.

[3] *Roxburghe Ballads*, vii. 575. R. Simpson, *The School of Shakespeare*, 1878, i. 144.

invasion was only postponed. In 1579 James Fitzmaurice and Nicholas Sanders landed in Kerry with a handful of followers and the Desmonds raised Munster against the English. In 1580 800 Italians followed and entrenched themselves at Smerwick, where they were all taken and put to the sword by Lord Grey. A 'ballad of Fitzmorris' was licensed on September 4, 1579, another entitled 'A Warning to the Romish Rebels to beware the Grey' on December 14, 1580, and a third on December 20 in the same year called:

> A Solemn Song of the Rebels State
> To whom the Pope's blessing came somewhat too late.[1]

The war, however, did not end till the last Earl of Desmond was killed in October 1583. A ballad entitled 'A brave Encouragement made by a soldier when he went into Ireland, wherein he hearteneth his fellow soldiers to be courageous against their enemies,' was licensed on May 16, 1583.[2]

During this period English popular literature is almost silent about events in Scotland, but there are two ballads illustrating the relations of England and Scotland which require a passing notice. They are examples of the fabrications of the professional balladmaker—false in fact, but true in feeling. Englishmen in general watched with some interest the youth of James VI. As Queen Elizabeth's godson, and possibly her successor, the fate of the child-king was naturally a question which nearly concerned them. Furthermore, since it was important that the ruler of Scotland should be friendly to England, the plots of different parties to obtain possession of his person or control of his policy, and the dangers which threatened him during his helpless youth,

[1] Collier, *Extracts*, ii. 96, 133, 136; Arber, *Registers*, ii. 359, 384, 385; Froude, x. 555, 589.

[2] Collier, *Extracts*, ii. 180; Arber, *Registers*, ii. 424; Froude, x. 615. John Derrick's 'Image of Ireland,' printed in 1581, deserves mention here. It is not properly a ballad, but a very lengthy narrative and descriptive poem, written in ballad metre, and reprinted in Scott's edition of the *Somers Tracts*, i. 558. Since none of the ballads mentioned above now survive, it has a special value as illustrating the popular conception of the Irish in England.

excited anxiety and at times alarm south of the Border. Of this feeling William Elderton availed himself in order to sell his ballads. He invented an imaginary character—a typical Englishman named Brown—whose function it was to guard the young King against his enemies and defeat their machinations, a function which he naturally performed with complete success as well as absolute fidelity. Thus was the origin of a ballad, published in 1581, 'declaring the great Treason conspired against the young King of Scots, and how one, Andrew Browne, an Englishman, which was the King's Chamberlaine, prevented the same.' There was a design to poison King James in a posset which Browne prevented. He met a bishop coming into the King's chamber with the posset in his hand, 'What hast thou there, Bishop?' quoth Browne. 'Nothing at all, my friend,' replied the bishop, 'but a posset to make the king good cheer.' 'You shall begin it yourself,' said Browne, whereon the bishop, pointing out that Browne was a young man and a poor one, offered to give him a few livings if he would let him pass.

> No, no (quoth Browne) I will not be
> A traitor for all Christianitie.
> Happe well or woe, it shall not be so;
> Drink now with a sorrowful heigh ho.

Bribery was in vain, and resistance too.

> The bishop drank; and by and by
> His belly burst, and he fell downe;
> A just reward for his traytery:
> 'This was a posset indeed,' quoth Browne.

Browne was knighted for his fidelity, but the moral of the story is that Queen Elizabeth will protect the King of Scots.

> His godmother will not see
> Her noble child misused to be.[1]

Elderton's fiction was so well received that a little later

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, x. 266; *Percy MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, ii. 265. The ballad was licensed May 30, 1581. Arber, *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 393.

he added a second part to the ballad.[1] In it Browne once more saved the young King; this time from a villainous nobleman called 'the Douglas,' whom he took prisoner and brought to the King. James made Browne an earl and wound up by a declaration of his fealty to the Queen of England.

'God save the Queene of England' he said,
'for her blood is very neshe,[2]
As neere unto her I am
as a colloppe shorne from the fleshe.

If I be false to England' he said,
'either in earnest or in jest,
I might be likened to a bird,'
Quoth he, 'that did defile it nest.'

The period from the summer of 1585 to the summer of 1588 was the turning-point of Elizabeth's reign. In August 1585 an English army was dispatched to the Low Countries, and in September Drake sailed to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies. In October 1586 Queen Mary was tried and condemned, and on February 8, 1587, she was beheaded at Fotheringay. In July 1588 came the battles with the Spanish Armada in the Channel.

One might have expected to find in the 'Stationers' Registers' entries of ballads encouraging the soldiers sent to the Netherlands or celebrating their achievements against the Spaniards. But the only ballad they mention which relates to the subject is 'A dolefull Ditty of the death of Sir Philip Sydney,' entered on February 22, 1587, and 'A ballad of the Buriall of Sir Philip Sydney,' on February 27. On the same 27th of February there was also licensed 'An excellent Ditty made as a general rejoicing for the cutting off the Scottish Queen.'[3] These records of the people's sorrow or joy have perished, but the exultation caused by the victory

[1] *The Percy MS.*, Hales and Furnivall, i. 135. The editorial note suggests that the Earl of Morton was the original of the villainous nobleman.

[2] 'Neshe,' i.e. tender.

[3] Arber, *Registers*, ii. 464.

over the Armada found expression in some four-and-twenty ballads, of which four still exist.[1]

[1] The following is a list of the Armada ballads licensed. Those which still exist are printed in italics. The dates are those given in the *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 493–508.

June 29. A Dittie of Encouragement to Englishmen to be bold to fight in defence of prince and country.

July 9. A ballad of Encouragement to English soldiers valiantly to behave themselves in defence of the true religion and their country.

Aug. 3. An excellent new song of prayer and prowess.

,, ,, A joyful sonnet of the readiness of the shires and nobility of England to do her Majesties service.

Aug. 10. *A ballad of the obtaining of the Galeazzo wherein Don Pedro de Valdez was chief.*

,, ,, *The Queens visiting the camp at Tilbury and her entertainment there the 8 and 9 of August.*

,, ,, *A joyful song of the royal receiving of the Queen's Majesty into her camp at Tilbury.*

Aug. 18. A ballad entitled the English preparation of the Spaniards Navigation.

,, 23. An excellent Song of the breaking up of the Camp.

,, 28. A proper new ballad briefly showing the honourable companies of horsemen and footmen which divers nobles of England brought before her Majesty.

,, 31. *A ballad of the strange whips which the Spaniards had prepared for the English men and women.*

Sep. 7. The Martial Shows of horsemen before her Majesty at St. James.

,, 28. A ballad entitled 'The late wonderful Distress which the Spanish Navy sustaned in the late fight at sea and upon the west coast of Ireland.'

,, 30. A ballad entitled of the valiant deeds of Mac Cab an Irishman.

Oct. 7. A ballad of thanksgiving to God for his mercy towards her Majesty.

Nov. 3. A new ballad of the glorious victory of Christ Jesus as was late seen by the overthrow of the Spaniards.

,, ,, A ballad of the most happy victory obtained over the Spaniards and their overthrow in July last.

,, 14. A joyful ballad of the royal entrance of Queen Elizabeth into her city of London . . . . and of the solemnity used by her majesty to the glory of God for the wonderful overthrow of the Spaniards.

,, ,, A Ditty of the exploit of the Earl of Cumberland on the sea in October 1588 and of the overthrow of 1600 Spaniards in Ireland.

,, 21. A new ballad of Englands joy and delight in the back rebound of the Spaniards spite.

,, 25. A joyful song or sonnet of the royal receiving of the Queen's majesty into the city of London, on Sunday the 24 of November.

,, 26. An excellent Ditty of the Queens coming to Paul's Cross the 24th day of November.

,, 27. The joyful Triumphs performed by divers Christian princes beyond the

Three of them are by Thomas Deloney;[1] the others by unknown authors. Deloney's Armada ballad begins with an exhortation to his countrymen :—

O noble England, fall doune upon thy knee,
And praise thy God with thankfull hart, which still maintaineth thee.
The forraine forces, that seekes thy utter spoile,
Shall then through his especiall grace be brought to shamefull foile.
With mightie power they come unto our coast :
To over runne our countrie quite, they make their brags and boast.
In strength of men they set their onely stay,
But we upon the Lord our God will put our trust alway.

Next he describes the appearance of the Spaniards in the Channel and the beginning of the fight :—

In happie hour our foes we did discry,
And under saile with gallant winde as they cam passing by.
Which suddaine tidings to Plymmouth being brought,
Full soone our Lord high Admirall for to pursue them sought.
And to his traine coragiously he said :
'Now for the Lord and our good Queene to fight be not afraide.
Regard our cause, and play your partes like men :
The Lord no doubt will prosper us in all our actions then.'

Then comes an account of the capture of the great galleon of Don Pedro de Valdez, followed by the pursuit of the Spanish ships up the Channel and the capture of the galleasse of Hugo de Moncada in Calais harbour.[2]

A second ballad describes the whips found in one of the captured vessels with which rumour declared the Spaniards meant to torture the English heretics after they had conquered their country—one sort of whips for men with knots of barbed wire, another sort with brazen tags for women.

seas for the happiness of England and the overthrow of the Spanish Navy.

One may also add 'A Skeltonicall Salutation . . . . of the Spanish Nation' published in 1589, of which a long extract is given in Dyce's *Skelton* I., cxxvi.

[1] All these are reprinted in *Tudor Tracts*, p. 485, and in *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. vi. pp. 384, 387, 390.

[2] 'The obtaining of the Great Galleazzo.' *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi. 384.

All you that list to looke and see
What profit comes from Spain,
And what the Pope and Spaniards both
prepared for our gayne,
Then turne your eyes and bend your eares
and you shall hear and see,
What courteous minds what gentle hearts
they beare to thee and mee.[1]

Meanwhile at Tilbury an army had been gathered to meet the Spaniards if they effected a landing. It consisted of about fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse. 'It was a pleasant sight,' says Stow, 'to behold the soldiers as they marched towards Tilbury, their cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures, dancing and leaping wheresoever they came; and in the camp their most felicity was hope of fight with the enemy, where oft-times divers rumours ran of their foes approach, and that present battle would be given them, then were they as joyful at such news as if lusty giants were to run a race.'[2]

Two ballads describe the camp and Queen Elizabeth's visit to it on August 8 and 9, 1588. There were three thousand tents and cabins :—

Each captaine had his colours brave
Set over his tent in wind to wave;
With them their officers there they have
To serve the Queen of England.
The other lodgings had their signe
For souldiers where to sup and dine,
And for to sleep, with orders fine,
In Tilsburie Camp in England.
And vittaling booths in plenty were,
Where they sold meate, bread, cheese, and beere;
One should have been hanged for selling too deare
In Tilburie Camp in England.[3]

[1] 'A new ballet of the strange and most cruel Whips.' *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi. 387.

[2] Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 744.

[3] 'A Joyful Song,' &c. *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi. 393.

The coming of the Queen to the camp is described by Deloney with some minuteness :—

Her faithfull souldiers great and small,
As each one stood within his place,
Upon their knees began to fall,
Desiring God to save her Grace :
For joy whereof her eyes were filled,
That the water down distilled ;
'Lord bless you all, my friends,' she said,
'But do not kneel so much to me,'
Then she sent warning to the rest,
They should not let such reverence be.

Then casting up her princely eyes
unto the hill with perfect sight,
The ground all covered she espies
with feet of armed soldiers bright :
Whereat her royal heart so leaped
on her feet upright she stepped
Tossing up her plume of feathers
to them all as they did stand,
Cheerfully her body bending,
waveing of her royal hand.

Next day the Queen reviewed the troops. The ballad writer is full of admiration for the sight, especially for the spectacle afforded by the pikemen :—

How they came marching all together
like a wood in winter's weather.

What with 'the strokes of drummers sounding and with trampling horses' earth and air resounded like thunder.[1]

The Queen the ballads picture is the exact counterpart of the Queen the memoirs of the time depict for us. The same characteristics appear in both—characteristics which Elizabeth never exhibited more effectively than in the crisis of 1588. To a courage no danger could daunt she added a natural gift of expressing it in words and acts which impressed the imagination of her people. Take, for instance, Bishop Good-

[1] 'The Queene's visiting of the Campe at Tilsburie.' *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi. 390.

man's story of the glimpse he caught of the Queen when he was a boy in London.[1]

'In the year '88, I did then live at the upper end of the Strand near St. Clement's Church, when suddenly there came a report unto us, (it was in December, much about five of the clock at night, very dark) that the Queen was gone to council, and if you will see the Queen you must come quickly. Then we all ran; when the Court gates were set open, and no man did hinder us from coming in. Then we came where there was a far greater company than was usually at Lent Sermons, and when we had staid there an hour and that the yard was full, there being a number of torches, the Queen came out in great state. Then we cried "God save your Majesty! God save your Majesty!" Then the Queen turned unto us and said, "God bless you all, my good people!" Then we cried again "God save your Majesty! God save your Majesty!" Then the Queen said again unto us, "You may well have a greater prince, but you shall never have a more loving prince." and so looking on upon another awhile the Queen departed. This wrought such an impression upon us, for shows and pageants are ever best seen by torch-light, that all the way long we did nothing but talk what an admirable queen she was, and how we would adventure our lives to do her service.'

By August 9 the Spanish fleet was somewhere to the north of Scotland and the English had abandoned the pursuit. During September about a score of the Spanish ships were wrecked off the Irish Coast, and those of their crews who reached the shore were killed by the Irish, or if they escaped their hands, put to death by the English commander. Over their sufferings and fate three at least of the lost ballads exulted. A ballad 'of the valiant deeds of one Mac Cab, an Irishman,' was licensed on September 30.[2] What his exploits were we learn from the letter of an English officer. 'The Spaniards,' he wrote, 'were so miserably

[1] Goodman, *Court of King James I.* i. 163.
[2] Arber, ii. *Registers*, 501.

distressed coming to land, that one man named Melaghlin M°Cabbe killed eighty with his gallow glass axe.' [1]

From the defeat of the Armada to the close of Elizabeth's reign the 'Stationers' Registers' abound with entries of ditties about the exploits of Englishmen against the Spaniards by sea or by land. No other subject seems to have been so attractive to the citizens of London. But of this outburst of martial music only an echo has reached posterity. We know the title of the ballads, but the ballads themselves have perished.[2] One exception is Deloney's ballad on the greatest incident of the naval war—namely, the capture of Cadiz by Essex in 1596. His 'Excellent song on the Winning of Cales' describes with spirit and fidelity the surprise of the Spanish fleet in their harbour :—

Unto Cales, cunningly, came we most speedylye,
Where the King's navy did secretelye ride,
Being upon their backe, piercing their butts of Sacke,
Ere that the Spanyards our coming descry'd.
Tan-ta-ra, ta-ra-ra, the Englishmen comes;
Bounce-a-bounce, bounce-a-bounce, off went the guns.

Great was the crying, running and ryding,
Which at that season was made in that place;
The Beacons were fyred, as need then required,
To hyde their great treasure they had little space.
'Alas!' they cried, 'Englishmen comes,' &c.

There you might see the shipps, how they wer fired fast,
And how the men drowned them selves in the sea:
There you may hear them cry, wail and weep piteously,
When as they saw no shift to escape thence away.
Dub-a-dub, &c.

It goes on to describe the sack of the city :—

'Now,' quoth the noble Earl, 'courage, my soldiers all!
Fight and be valiant, the spoyl you shall have;
And [be] well rewarded all, from the great to the small;
But look that the women and children you save!'
Dub-a-dub, &c.

[1] Froude, xii. 452.

[2] See *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. by C. H. Firth, preface, pp. xiv.–xx. (Navy Records Society, 1908), for a collection of these titles.

Entering the houses then, and of the richest men,
For gold and treasure we searched each day;
In some place we did find pye bakeing in the oven
Meat at the fire roasting and men run away.

Full of rich merchandize every shop did we see,
Damask, and sattens, and velvet full fair;
Which soldiers measure out by the length of their swords,
Of all commodities each one hath a share.[1]

There were many ballads which related the incidents of the struggle against Spain in France and the Netherlands. So much depended on the issue of that struggle, and so many English soldiers took part in it that all men wished to hear how Henry of Navarre and Maurice of Nassau were faring. There were ballads on the battles of Coutras and Ivry, on the siege of Paris, on the capture of Chartres and Morlaix, on the assassination of Henry III and the attempted assassination of Henry IV, on the expedition of the Earl of Essex to Normandy in 1592, and on the mortal wounding of Sir Martin Frobisher at the siege of Brest in 1594.[2] Of all these ballads on the Continental wars but three survive.

One ballad describes the capture of Calais by the Spaniards in 1596, dwelling at length on the barbarous massacre which followed the assault, and expatiating in conclusion on the cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West Indies.[3] Another narrates the siege and capture of Rheinberg by Maurice of Nassau in 1601.[4] The third, which demands longer notice, relates the battle of Nieuport. It is entitled 'News from Flanders, A new ballad of the great overthrow which the valiant Captain Grave Maurice of Nassau, Sir Francis Vere and others of the Queen of England's friends

[1] Printed in *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi. 402; in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, p. 21 (Navy Records Society, 1908), and in many other collections. Apparently it originally appeared in Deloney's *Garland of Goodwill*, which was published in 1596. There appear to be no broadside copies of it in existence.

[2] Arber, *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 482, 530, 534, 540, 543, 546, 547, 556, 561, 591, 595, 623, 664, 666.

[3] *Shirburn Ballads*, p. 240; cf. Corbett, *Successors of Drake*, p. 37.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 272.

gave to the Archduke and his Army of Spaniards upon Sunday being the 22 of June last past 1600.'[1] The ballad is a very honest and prosaic account of a great victory in which the English auxiliaries under the command of Vere played an important part. It does not in the least exaggerate that part. Vere is represented as advising Prince Maurice how to order his forces in the battle, but there is no attempt to claim either for him or the Englishmen under his command the sole merit of the victory. Its theme is the praise of 'the Queen of England's friends' in the Netherlands, whether her own subjects or Dutchmen.

As a contrast to these strictly contemporary ballads we have two others written on purpose to exalt the feats of arms performed by English soldiers in the war of the Netherlands. One of these is 'Mary Ambree,' which relates how a young woman turned soldier in order to avenge the death of her lover, and distinguished herself by her courage at the siege of Ghent :—

> When captains courageous whom death could not daunt,
> Did march to the siege of the city of Gaunt,
> They mustered their soldiers by two and by three,
> And the foremost in battle was Mary Ambree.

The siege of Ghent referred to cannot be identified. The name of Mary Ambree is mentioned by Ben Jonson in 1609 as if the ballad were already well-known, and he quotes the ballad itself in a masque written in 1626. The ballad itself appears in the 'Register of the Stationers' Company' under June 20, 1629, as an old ballad transferred to a new owner. It was probably written about the end of Elizabeth's reign or early in that of James I.[2]

The ballad of 'Lord Willoughby' is better known to

[1] British Museum, 806. K. 16 (58). The battle was on July 2, new style. The ballad is reprinted in the Appendix to this paper.

[2] Hales and Furnivall, i. 515; *Bagford Ballads*, i. 308; Lord Crawford's *Catalogue of Ballads*, p. 466. The earliest printed version of the ballad now extant was published during the reign of Charles II. Percy's MS. contained a version of it, but one so obviously corrupt that he preferred to follow a broadside in the Pepys collection.

modern readers than 'Mary Ambree,' because it is a vigorous and spirited composition which has found its way into most collections of historical or martial verse.[1] But it is of as little historical value as 'Mary Ambree.' Though it is often taken to be a typical Elizabethan ballad, the earliest printed versions of it which survive were not printed before 1640, and it is probable that it was not written before 1624.[2] Its subject is an unnamed battle in Flanders evidently intended to represent the battle of Nieuport,[3] and it celebrates the prowess of the English soldiers in that battle without making any reference to the Dutch army in which they were serving:—

> With fifteen hundred fighting men
> Alas there was no more
> They fought with fourteen thousand men
> Upon the bloody shore.

There is no mention of Maurice of Nassau, who commanded the Dutch army, and there is no mention of Sir Francis Vere, who commanded the English contingent. The general whose praises are eloquently sung is called Lord Willoughby. The Lord Willoughby referred to is Peregrine Bertie, ninth Lord Willoughby de Eresby, who served with great distinction in the wars in the Low Countries in Elizabeth's time, but was not even in Flanders when the battle of Nieuport took place. He died in 1601, and none of his recorded exploits bear any resemblance to that narrated in the ballad. The attribution of the whole glory of the victory at Nieuport to Vere would be easy to account for; the attribution of Vere's glory to Lord Willoughby is what requires explanation. The ballad, in my opinion, was written between 1624 and 1628 at the

[1] *Roxburghe Ballads*, iv. 4; Lord Crawford's *Catalogue*, p. 148; Percy's *Reliques*.

[2] It is not entered in the *Stationers' Registers*, but the latter contains hardly any ballads between the end of 1624 and the beginning of 1629.

[3] The month in which the battle took place is given as July, the site of the battle is on the seashore, the number of English soldiers engaged is 1500. These three points all suggest the battle of Nieuport. The sixteenth verse of 'News from Nieuport' seems to have suggested the ninth verse of 'Lord Willoughby.'

time when the outbreak of a new war with Spain had revived the memories of the long struggle with Spain in Elizabeth's days. Its object was to inspire Englishmen by the recollection of the exploits of their ancestors against the same enemy.

In this new war with Spain, Robert Bertie, tenth Lord Willoughby, son of the hero of the ballad, filled a conspicuous part. He was colonel of one of the four English regiments, of 1500 men each, raised and sent to aid the Dutch against the Spaniards in 1624. He was commander of the fleet despatched to the coast of Spain in October 1626, and in November 1627 he was offered the command of the four English regiments which were to be sent to the aid of the King of Denmark.[1] What could be more natural than the publication of a ballad celebrating the services of the father in any one of these years, even at the expense of historical truth? The public for whom a ballad was written was indifferent to the accuracy of the facts, so long as it represented with fidelity their feeling about them. As it will be shown later, other pseudo-historical ballads of precisely the same character originated during the same period.

There is a similar mixture of fact and fiction amongst the ballads which touch upon the relations between England and Scotland. From 1588 to 1603 the official relations of the two countries were friendly, although the execution of Mary Queen of Scots had for a time threatened to create a breach. The sympathetic interest with which Englishmen watched the fortune of James is shown by the publication of three ballads upon his marriage, and one on the birth of his eldest son.[2] On the Borders, however, the old lawlessness prevailed—theft and murder, raids and counter-raids. These are abundantly illustrated by the ballads in Scott's 'Border Minstrelsy,' and other Scottish collections, many of which seem to relate to incidents happening in the later part of the sixteenth century, though the ballads themselves are probably

[1] Dalton, *Life of Sir Edward Cecil*, ii. 63, 65, 68, 81, 262, 270, 286.
[2] Arber, *Registers*, ii. 548, 549, 563.

compositions of a later date. Historically the two most interesting of the Scottish ballads are the 'Raid of the Reid-Squhair,'[1] a narrative of an affray which took place on July 7, 1576, and 'Kinmont Willie,' a traditional ballad much edited by Scott, which describes the rescue of a moss-trooper from the castle of Carlisle on April 13, 1596.[2]

There are also a large number of ballads which do not relate to any particular historical event, but simply narrate the escapes or the adventures of border thieves. The finest example of this class is 'Dick of the Cow,' of which the oldest version extant is one committed to writing about 1775, though there is evidence that some legend of its hero's exploits was in circulation as early as 1596.[3]

The English side of the Border is less prolific in ballads than the Scottish. 'Rookhope Ryde' is a spirited account of the defeat of a raid made by the Scots into Weardale on December 6, 1569. Rookhope, it says, is a pleasant place if thieves would let it be, but they won't.

> Lord God! is not this a pitiful case,
> That men dare not drive their goods to t' fell,
> But limmer thieves drives them away,
> That fears neither heaven nor hell?

This time the thieves made a mistake:

> Weardale men they have good hearts,
> They are as stiff as any tree;
> For if they'd every one been slain,
> Never a foot back man would flee.

Four of the thieves were slain and eleven taken prisoners.[4]

[1] Maidment's *Scottish Ballads and Songs* (1868), i. 143; Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. Henderson, ii. 18. It was originally printed by Allan Ramsay in his *Evergreen* in 1724.

[2] Maidment, i. 153; Scott, ii. 39; Child, iii. 469; Hatfield MSS. vi. 85, 228, 339.

[3] 'Dick of the Cow, that mad demilance northern borderer, who played his prizes with the lord Jockey so bravely,' is mentioned in Nashe's 'Have with you to Saffron Walden,' which was published in 1596. For the ballad see Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. Henderson, ii. 71; and Child, iii. 461.

[4] Scott, ii. 130; Child, iii. 439. It was taken down by Ritson in 1785, and published in his *Bishopric Garland*.

Another ballad written in 1580, which has unfortunately perished, narrated a raid made by the Fenwicks and other Northumbrians into Liddesdale against the Elliots.[1] There are also two ballads of mourning. One is the lamentation of the widow of William Aynsley of Shaftoe in Tynedale for the death of her husband slain in 1598 by a party of Rutherfords from the other side of the Border. It ends with a cry for revenge :

I trust in God above,
And I trust that I mun hear
Many a Scottish woman
Mourning for her dear.[2]

It was not easy to restore order on the Borders, because popular sympathy was with those who broke the law and against those who put it in force. A good example of this is afforded by 'A lamentable ditty for the death of a worthy gentleman' who was executed at Newcastle :—

Come, you lusty northern lads,
That are so blithe and bonny,
Prepare your hearts to be full sad,
To hear the end of Georgey.
Heigh-ho, heigh-ho, my bonny love,
Heigh-ho, heigh-ho, my bonny ;
Heigh-ho, heigh-ho, my own deare love,
And God be with my Georgie.

When Georgie to his triall came
A thousand hearts were sorry
A thousand lasses wept full sore
And all for love of Georgey . . .
Might friends have satisfied the law,
Then Georgey would find many ;
Yet bravely did he plead for life
If mercy might be any.

[1] On September 3, 1580, there was licensed 'A ballad of a Raide made into Liddesdale by certen English gentlemen of the phenix (i.e. Fenwicks) and others, against the Ellyottes for deadly fead, the original whereof began by the Elliottes being Scottes at Kyrke harle in Scotland for lyeres past.' Arber, ii. 377 ; cf. Ridpath *Border History*, p. 661.

[2] Printed in the *Scottish Historical Review* for July 1908 from Ashmole's MSS.

He protested, for instance, that he never stole ox or cow and never murdered anyone, but apparently admitted receiving stolen horses, and gloried in stealing sheep. He denounced the officers of the law for putting him to death for such peccadillos.

Out upon thee, Withrington,
And fie upon thee, Fenwick,[1]
Thou hast put down the doughty one
That stole the sheep from Alnwick [1].
And fie on all such cruell carles,
Whose crueltie's so fickle,
To cast away a gentleman,
In hatred, for so little.

It is difficult to fix the date of the ballad or determine the name of the sufferer, but the incident recorded probably took place about the end of Elizabeth's reign when Sir Robert Cary put the law in force against the Border thieves with a severity to which they were not accustomed.[2]

The interest of these Border ballads lies in their poetical merit, and in their value as illustrations of the state of society in the northern parts, rather than in the importance of the events with which they deal. While order was gradually

[1] 'Phœnix' and 'Annix' in the original.

[2] There are two versions of this ballad. (1) 'A lamentable ditty for the death of a worthy gentleman named George Stoole,' &c., quoted above. (2) 'The Life and Death of George of Oxford,' apparently a late and very corrupt version of the same. Both are printed by Child, iv. 140, as an appendix to a ballad with which they have no connexion. Both are also to be found in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 577; vii. 70, and the first is in Ritson's *Northumbrian Garland*, too. The ballad first appears in the *Stationers' Registers* as transferred on June 1, 1629, and is evidently much older. Arber, iv. 231. Ritson thinks it should be dated about 1610. Nothing is known of the George Stoole mentioned in the title of the first ballad. The reason for attributing it to Cary's period is that in 1598, when he became Warden of the Middle March, he made Sir Henry Widdrington and Sir William Fenwick his deputies. He began his operations by executing 'two gentlemen thieves that robbed and took purses from travellers in the highways,' who were both hanged at Newcastle. The hero of the ballad may have been one of these two, whose names have not been preserved. On the other hand, the ballad may refer to 'a great thief called Geordie Bourne,' whom Carey executed in 1596, when he was Deputy Warden of the East Marches. Great efforts were made to save this famous man. *Memoirs of Robert Carey*, ed. 1808, pp. 70, 94, 96. *Calendar of Border Papers*, ii. 188–9, 191.

being restored in the march lands between England and Scotland Elizabeth's government had serious war to wage in Ireland. Intermittent fighting for half a dozen years culminated in a general rebellion headed by the Earl of Tyrone in 1598, and a disastrous defeat of the English forces on the Blackwater on August 14 of that year. In the spring of 1599 Essex was sent to Ireland. A ballad entitled 'London's Loath to Depart' was registered on March 31, 1599, which related the departure of 'the noble Earl of Essex' to subdue 'the Tyronish Irish rebels.'[1] This has perished, but there still exists 'A new ballad of the triumphs kept in Ireland upon St. George's Day last,' which describes the great review Essex held in Dublin before he set forth on his unsuccessful campaign against Tyrone.[2]

Essex returned to England in September 1599 and Lord Mountjoy took command in February 1600. He had half achieved his task when in September 1601, 4000 Spaniards under Don Juan de Aquila landed and fortified themselves at Kinsale. Mountjoy's victory over Tyrone on December 24, 1601, and the surrender of the garrison of Kinsale on January 2, 1602, practically ended the rebellion. Both events are related in 'A joyful new ballad of the late Victory obtained by Lord Mountjoy.'

> Oh let us now return unto the Lord,
> And to his prayse singe Psalmes with one accord,
> Which hath defended little England's right
> From forrayne foes their cruelty and might,

says the ballad-maker.[3]

Long ere Mountjoy's victories took place the career of his predecessor had closed. On his return to England Essex had been put under arrest, tried for treason and dismissed from all his offices. Though he was freed in August 1600 he was

[1] Arber, *Registers*, iii. 49; Churchyard's 'Fortunate Farewell to the Earl of Essex,' written on the same occasion, is reprinted in Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. ed. 1788.

[2] *Shirburn Ballads*, p. 321.

[3] Printed in *Shirburn Ballads*, p. 124, and in *Roxburghe Ballads*, viii. p. xi.

not restored to favour, and on February 7, 1601, he made his ill-fated attempt to create an insurrection in London. He was beheaded on February 25, 1601, but even his folly could not deprive him of the affection of the people. They sympathised with him in his disgrace; some said he had been driven to madness by his loss of the Queen's favour, others that he had been undermined by the treacherous intrigues of his rival Raleigh, and both views find expression in verses which circulated in manuscript and were printed later.[1] His fate was commemorated in two ballads, printed after James I. had ascended the throne, and reprinted in many later collections.

One is a lamentable new ballad upon the Earl of Essex his death.[2]

> All you that cry Ohone! Ohone!
> Come now and sing O hone! with me;
> For why, our Jewel is from us gone
> The valiant knight of chivalry . . .

It distinguishes, as the people did, between Essex and other men who had suffered the same punishment. He was guiltless, in the popular eye, of real treason:

> Count him not like to Campion
> (those traiterous men) or Babington;
> Not like the Earl of Westmerland,
> by whom a number were undone:
> He never yet hurt mother's son—
> his quarrel still maintained the right;
> For which the tears my cheeks down run,
> when I think on his last Goodnight.

The second ballad, 'A Lamentable Dity composed upon the Death of Robert Earl of Essex,' takes the same line. It

[1] There are a couple of sonnets which may with some probability be attributed to Essex himself. Those beginning 'Happy were he could finish forth his fate' and 'The ways on earth have paths and turnings known.' See *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi. 404; *Ballads from MSS.*, ii. 251; Hannah, *Poems of Sir W. Raleigh*, &c. ed. 1875, p. 177.

[2] Printed in *Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 71; *Shirburn Ballads*, p. 328; *Old Ballads* (1723–5), iii. 118.

begins 'Sweet Englands pride is gone,' and goes on to say:

He was condemned to die
For treason certainly—
But God that sits on high
knoweth all things.[1]

It echoes the protestations of Essex on the scaffold. He had never wronged the Queen, never meant ill to the state, and had always loved the commons with all his heart. The commons of England believed him, and forgave him his faults, and magnified his virtues. For as the ballad said:

He always helped the poor,
Which makes them sigh full sore;
His death they do deplore
in every place.

This vast popularity long survived. It descended to his son and helped to make the third Earl of Essex the most popular man in England. One curious proof of the way in which his memory lingered in the imagination of the people is the ballad called 'Queen Elizabeth's Champion,' which describes how the young Earl of Essex defeated the son of the Emperor of Germany in a battle at sea and brought him captive to Queen Elizabeth.[2]

It is said that Elizabeth's own popularity was now declining, and that she was sensible of it herself. 'The people,' says Bishop Goodman, 'were very generally weary of an old woman's government.' The ballads show no sign of this feeling. November 17, 1600, the forty-third anniversary of the Queen's accession to the throne, was hailed with the customary enthusiasm in 'a pleasant new ballad of the most blessed and prosperous Reign of her Majesty.'

Ring out your bells,
What should you do else?
Strike up your drums for joy;

[1] *Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 564; *Old Ballads* (1723–5), iii. 107.

[2] *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi. 405. It was reprinted in *A Collection of Old Ballads* (1723), i. 195. I take the ballad to have been written about 1625, at the time of the expedition to Cadiz, not in 1597, as Mr. Ebsworth suggests. Verses 7 and 9 clearly refer to the third Earl.

The noblest Queen
That ever was seen
In England doth reign this day.[1]

If some eclipse there was it was only a partial and a temporary one. 'After a few years,' writes Goodman, 'when we had experience of the Scottish government, then in disparagement of the Scots and in hate and detestation of them, the Queen did seem to revive; then was her memory much glorified—such ringing of bells, such public joy and sermons in commemoration of her, the picture of her tomb painted in many churches, and in effect more solemnity and joy in memory of her coronation than was for the coming in of King James.'[2] The grievances from which the nation suffered under James made it look back to the reign of the Queen as a golden age. Witness a poem entitled 'To the most blessed Saint of famous memory Elizabeth, the humble petition of her now wretched and contemptible the Commons of England' in which she is entreated to intercede with heaven for the relief of her people.[3]

For nearly half a century after Elizabeth's death the day of her accession was enthusiastically celebrated, and during the excitement of the Popish Plot it was the occasion of annual demonstrations against Catholicism, such as bonfires and pope-burning. Dryden refers to her as 'the Queen whose feast the factious rabble keep.' 'Behold the genius of our land' begin some verses intended to be sung before her statue in 1679. They end

Fixt in our hearts thy fame shall live;
And maugre all the popish spite,
To honour thee our youth shall strive,
And yearly celebrate this night.[4]

[1] *Shirburn Ballads*, p. 177. See also 'A proper new ballade wherein is plaine to be seene how God blesseth England for love of our Queene' (after 1588), *Ballads from MSS.*, ii. 92.

[2] *The Court of King James I*, by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, i. 96–8.

[3] *Ballads from MSS.* ii. 130, 137.

[4] See *Roxburghe Ballads*, iv. 219; Scott's *Dryden*, vi. 222; Dryden's Prologue to Southern's *Loyal Brother*.

The Whigs of 1711 revived the celebration as a protest against the Tory government of the day, and that government called out the London trained bands in order to suppress it. 'Let us sing,' said a Whig song,

> to the memory of glorious Queen Bess,
> Who long did the heart of her subjects possess,
> And whose mighty actions did to us secure
> Those many great blessings which now do endure :
> For then she did lay that solid foundation
> On which our religion is fixed in this nation.[1]

There are many earlier ballads of the same kind.[2]

Elizabeth's maintenance of the national independence secured her fame with succeeding generations ; the intolerance which was the chief blot on her reign was to the majority of the English people but an additional title to gratitude and glory. She became the Protestant heroine just as William III. became the Protestant hero.

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## APPENDIX

### Newes from Flaunders

A new Ballad of the great ouerthrow that the valliant Captaine Graue Maurice, Sir Frances Veere and others of the Queene of Englands friends gaue to the Archduke, and his Army of Spaniards, upon Sunday being the 22 of June last past, 1600. To the tune of lusty gallant. B.M. 806 K 16 (58).

> You that be desirous
> and therein take delight :
> To heare of bloudie battailes,
> and worthy warlike fight,

[1] See *Roxburghe Ballads*, iv. 329, 334 ; *Political Merriment* (1714), part ii. pp. 128, 207 ; Swift's *Journal to Stella*, November 17, 1711.

[2] 'The Life and Death of Queen Elizabeth.' *A Collection of Old Ballads* (1723-5), pp. iii. 122. This originally appeared in Richard Johnson's *Crown Garden of Golden Roses* in 1612 (Percy Society Reprint, p. 39). A later seventeenth-century ballad 'Upon the Death of Queen Elizabeth,' beginning 'I tell ye all, both great and small,' is printed in *Ballads from MSS.*, ii. 98. It appeared first in *Choice Drollery* in 1656 (p. 68 of Ebsworth's reprint). There is also 'a joyful song of the deserved praises of good Queen Elizabeth, how princely she behaved herself at Tilbury camp,' &c., in *A Collection of Old Ballads*, iii. 99.

To Flaunders bend your ears a while,
and you shall truly know,
How valliantly our noble friends,
their foes did ouerth[r]ow.

The Archduke of Austria,
that bloudy Spanish Lord:
Like Judas hath conuerted,
his booke into a sword.
To plant by cursed Popery,
To Flaunders now againe:
to bring the Queen of Englands friends
in seruitude to Spaine.

But Noble Prince, Graue Maurice,
his purpose to preuent:
Hath entred famous Flaunders,
to warlike battle bent:
With fifteene thousand horse and foote,
prepared well to fight:
At Phillipeena landed first,
the twelfe of June by night.

From thence a long to Oldenbirdge,
they marched on a maine:
And cut of all the best reliefe,
quite from the hoast of Spaine.
All the sconces and the Fortes,
that by the way they found,
Belonging to the Spanish power,
they raced to the ground.

And so to Newport marched,
with thundring lowde allarmes:
And there besiegde it brauely,
by force of warlike armes.
The Cannons plaide up to the walles
the muskets shot amaine:
As though that Mars himselfe were come
to fight or else be slaine.

By this he heard the Archduke,
was coming for to raise
His siedge, with full ten thousand,
resting neither night nor dayes.

Whereat the States Generall,
did choose a Regiment:
Of nimble Scotch and hardy Dutch,
their comming to preuent.

To Count Ernestus of Nassaw
committed them in charge:
About foure miles from Newport,
to fortifie a Bridge.
Who failed much therein, because
the Duke had past the same:
Before Ernestus Regiments,
all softly thether came.

The Scotch-men were all cut off,
and put to slaughter quite:
But yet the Dutchmen hapned,
to saue themselues by flight.
The which imboldned so the foe
that he went forward still:
Without all daunger of assault,
or fearing any ill.

Upon the foure and twenty day,
they planted on a plaine:
Eight great Canons soundly chargde
a battle to maintaine.
Whereat the Princely Generall,
the siedge did soone forsake:
And marcht to meete the Archduke,
the better ground to take.

Sir Frances Veere directed him,
his squadrons to dispose:
How best for his aduantage,
Should set upon his foes.
Nine Noble English Gentlemen,
the first encounter gaue:
With as much honour and renowne,
as any Prince might haue.

But yet before this battell strong,
betwixt them were begun:
they stroue at least ful two houres long
for weather, winde and sunne.

At last Duke Alberts warlike drums
did thunder in the skies:
whereat Prince Maurice stird himself
and thus couragious cryes:

For Flaunders, and for England,
braue gallants must we fight:
In his defence and quarrell,
that is the God of might.
To armes I say then gallant lads,
let nothing us dismay:
Against professed foes we fight,
and hope to win the day.

Which wordes did so imbolden,
them of the common sort:
That euery one esteemde,
the battle for a sport.
Where though they saw an hundred slaine
by one great Cannon shot:
Yet none of them in feare thereof,
from thence would mooue a foote.

Full foure long houres continued,
this blacke and dreadfull fight:
That both sides well maintained,
with courage and great might.
The Cannons made such lanes of men
that soldiours wetshood stood:
As they discharg'd their musket shot,
in pooles of purple blood.

The sunne with smoke was darkned,
the element likewise:
That like a dismall cole blacke night,
appeared all the skies.
Like mountaines dead men lay on heapes
most greeuous to beholde:
By numbers great and infinite,
past reason to be tolde.

At last the fearfull enemy,
from field began to flye:
Whereat our English Captaines,
saint George saint George did cry,

The battle's won, the day is ours,
take courage by this chance:
And in the honour of this day,
our English Cross aduance.

Then foure miles they pursued
the Spaniards in their flight:
still slaughtering them by thousands,
and so returnde by night.
To Newport backe with warlike joy
the siedge for to renew:
And driue the Spaniards from the towne
with balles of fiery hew.

In this same dreadfull battle,
the Spanish Duke had slaine:
Aboue fiue thousand at the least,
most heauy newes for Spaine.
One thousand more they prisoners took
withall three Spanish Lords:
Which were by force compeld to yeeld
them prisoners to our swordes.

The Duke himselfe as chaunced,
was hurt with Musket shot:
And in such sort as hardly he,
aliue to Brussels got.
His Cannons they were taken all,
his Treasure and his Plate:
Which he good prises, and esteemde,
well of the Flemish state.

A hundred fiftye Ensignes,
were taken on that day,
All which may be sufficient
the Spaniards to dismay.
And neuer more haue so bould harts,
in warre to lift their handes:
Against our noble English friendes,
now in the Netherlandes.

Of English, Scots and Dutchmen,
we had some store yslaine,
But few they were in number
to them that fought for Spaine.

Few chosen captaines we had hurt,
but braue Lord Graye in fight
And bould sir Frances of Deueere,
that most renowned knight.

Who had bene slaine or smoothered
amongst the maimed men,
Had not sir Robert Drewrie
most brauely playd the man,
Who from the thickest of the fight
bore him from thence away
A nobler deed then this was not
perform'd of all that daye.

Thus haue you hearde the seruice
of these our English friendes,
That stil with losse of life and limmes
the Flemish state defends.
God banish thence idolatrie,
that English men may say:
That stil we haue in spight of Spaine
some frendes beyond the sea.

FINIS.

CAPTAINES OF THE ENGLISH SLAINE.

1. Captaine Yaxley
2. Captaine Honywood
3. Captaine Duxbery
4. Captaine Purton
5. Captaine Tirrell
6. Captaine Woodward

PRISONERS OF THE ENEMY TAKEN.

The Admirall of Arragon
Lewis de Villar
Jasper Sapena
With many other Captaines.

# SIR OTHO DE GRANDISON 1238?–1328.

1. *The Friend of King Edward.*
2. *The Fall of Acre.*
3. *Foreign Missions.*
4. *The Island Lordship.*
5. *The later Grandisons.*
6. *His Countrymen and Kinsfolk.*
7. *Appendix of Documents.*

## I.—The Friend of King Edward.

There is perhaps no incident in the history of the later Crusades that has so caught the fancy of succeeding generations as the story of how Queen Eleanor, with true wifely affection, sucked the poison from her husband's wound. But that story does not appear in any contemporary writer: and when fifty years after the event it at last makes its appearance, it is given only as a hearsay tale.[1] Yet, after all, one is inclined to believe that the legend may not have been entirely ill-founded, when a few years later we find the credit of this act given to a man, who is known to have rendered Edward some signal service and to have been united to him in a lifelong and peculiar friendship. The later story is the more remarkable because the writer who preserved it had no knowledge of these other facts which make his version the more appropriate.

The Flemish historian, John of Ypres, after relating the circumstances of Edward's Crusade, goes on to say: 'I have heard the following story from the lips of certain honourable and trustworthy men of Savoy, who, however, told me not of what they had seen but of what they had heard. Now these men alleged that once upon a time there was in Savoy

[1] Ptolemy of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, xxiii. 6.

a certain lord of Grandson, whose wife bore him a son. When the astronomers were summoned to examine, calculate, and decide the child's nativity, they declared that if he grew to manhood, he would be great, powerful, and victorious. There was also present on this occasion a person full of superstition, or shall I rather say of divine inspiration, who taking a brand from the hearth declared that the boy would live only so long as the brand lasted, and that he might live the longer thereupon had the brand built up in a wall. The boy lived, grew to manhood, and to old age, with ever increasing honour; until at last, weary of life through the burden of his years, he ordered the brand to be taken out of the wall and cast into the fire. Hardly was the brand consumed, ere the good knight expired. My informants told me further that this fateful lord of Grandson was beyond sea in the company of the son of the King of England; and that when he heard how the prince had been poisoned, he alone, trusting, as I suppose, in the fate that had been foretold for him, dared to suck the venom from the wound; and thus through his aid was Edward healed. Afterwards this lord of Grandson and his kinsfolk rose to high honour with the Kings of England, and unto this day have they great repute in that country. But of this can I avouch no more than was told to me.'[1]

It is strange that John of Ypres should not have discovered the full name of his hero. Perhaps, however, he regarded the story as no more than a romantic fable, and knowing nothing of English Grandisons hardly credited their existence. None the less, his informants did not speak without reason, and we have no difficulty in identifying their child of destiny with Sir Otho de Grandison,[2] the trusty secretary and friend from youth of Edward of England.

The town of Grandson on the bank of the Lake of

[1] *Chronicon S. Bertini*, ap. Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, iii. 751. John of Ypres died in 1383, but he entered the monastery in 1339, and may have heard the story not many years after Otho's death.

[2] Though the credit has been erroneously given to his grandfather, Ebal IV. See Meredith Read, *Historic Studies in Vaud*, i. 453–4.

Neuchâtel has become famous as the scene of the victory in which the Swiss patriots of 1476 routed Charles the Bold. In the early Middle Ages the Castle was the seat of a family which claimed to spring from an imperial stock.[1] Towards the close of the first half of the thirteenth century its lord was Peter de Grandson, who, having played his part wisely in a stormy time, won for his family the protection of the famous Count Peter of Savoy. Count Peter was grand-uncle, through his niece Eleanor, of our own Edward I., and being himself Earl of Richmond by grant from King Henry, obtained for many young nobles of Savoy and Burgundy advancement at the English Court. The lord of Grandson seems to have died about 1258,[2] leaving to his widow, Agnes, daughter of Count Ulric of Neuchâtel, besides several daughters, the charge of six sons, Otho, Gerard, James, Henry, Peter and William.[3] No doubt Agnes was glad enough when Peter of Savoy provided for the half of them by taking them in his train on his fourth visit to England in 1258. The eldest was Otho, then probably a little over twenty years of age, who entered the service of Edward, the English King's elder son. Gerard, the second, continued as a chaplain in Peter's own service; he was canon of Lyons in 1259, was afterwards in

[1] On the early lords of Grandson see L. de Charrière, *Les Dynastes de Grandson jusqu'au* xiii^e^ *siècle*, Lausanne, 1866, and B. Egger, *Geschichte der Cluniazenser Kloster in der Westschweiz*, Freiburg, 1907.

[2] Peter de Grandson was one of the three sons of Yeblo or Ebal IV. The others were Henry de Chanvent, and Gerard de La Sarraz, who with their descendants took name from the castles of which they were lords. The earliest known members of the family are Lambert and Adalbert de Grandson in 981–2 (*Cartulaire de Lausanne*, ap. *Soc. de la Suisse Romande*, vi. 609). Peter I. was alive on September 28, 1257, but dead before August 31, 1263. (*Minutes of Evidence concerning the Barony of Grandison*, 169. See also Wurstemberger, *Peter der Zweite, Graf von Savoyen*, iv. 127, 177, 286, 377.)

[3] The order is determined by a deed of August 31, 1263, under which Agnes and her sons sold the 'Peage de Grandson' to Peter of Savoy for an annual rent charge on Cuarnie, Pomers and Crotnei. It begins: 'Nos Agnes, domina de Grandisono, tutrix legitima liberorum nostrorum Petri et Willelmi, Girardus, Jaquetus et Henricus, pro se et fratre suo Otonino, filii predicte domine &c.' Peter and William were clearly under age. Henry was probably just of age, for, having no seal of his own, he was 'contentus sigillis aliorum.' Otho was plainly absent; for his brothers contracted in his behalf, and promised to obtain his consent. *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 169, with the deed in full.

the confidence of King Edward and his brother Edmund, and died Bishop of Verdun in 1278.[1] For William the youngest of the family, a post was found in the household of Edmund of Lancaster; from him descended the English Grandisons, and we shall hear much of him hereafter. Of the others Henry also at a later date entered the service of the English King.[2] Peter became Sire de Belmont, and was ancestor of the later lords of Grandson.

Sir Otho de Grandison (or Graunzun) appears as one of Edward's knights in 1268,[3] and had no doubt fought under him at Lewes and Evesham. He accompanied his master on the Crusade, landing with him at Acre on May 9, 1271.[4] When Edward made his will on the day after his attempted assassination—June 18, 1272—Otho de Grandison was named as one of the executors.[5] With Edward he returned to the West, and journeyed through Italy to the lands of his ancestral lord, the Count of Savoy. He was with Edward when he compelled William de Tournon, the robber-knight of Burgundy, to become a vassal of Savoy,[6] and, as we may fairly conjecture, charged by his side in that strange tournament which came to be known as 'the little battle of Chalons.' Edward, though his father had been dead more than six months, put off his return to England and went instead to Gascony, where Otho may have made acquaintance with his fellow-countryman, Jean de Grailly,[7] his future comrade-in-arms at the siege of Acre, who was then in the service of King Edward.

Otho de Grandison probably accompanied the King to England in August 1274, and from this time forward his

[1] Wurstemberger, iv. 507, 657. *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 135, 161–2. *Foedera*, ii. 563. *Ancient Correspondence*, xiii. 70, xiv. 77–82, xxi. 50.

[2] *Ibid.* xviii. 32–3. See below, p. 60.

[3] *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii. 140, 177.

[4] *Cont. William of Tyre*, 460. He was with Edward in Sicily on January 15, 1271, cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward. I., iii. 58.

[5] *Foedera*, i. 495.

[6] *Ibid.* i. 504.

[7] From Grilly or Gilly in Vaud. He was the founder of the Gascon family De Grailly. For a Life of Jean de Grailly see M. Bémont, *Rôles Gascons*, iii. pp. xxxiii–xlvii.

name occurs frequently in our national records. He never held any official position of the first importance, though Edward employed him from the start, not merely in personal matters suited to a trusty and confidential servant, but also on those affairs of state which it was expedient to preserve from public notoriety. 'There was,' writes Edward on one occasion, 'no one about him who could do his will better; nay, it could not be better done if he were to attend to it himself in person.'[1] So we find Otho sent abroad to purchase horses for the King's use, to negotiate a loan with the merchants of Florence and Piacenza, to discharge a mission of courtesy at the French Court, or to arrange details of administration in Gascony.[2] Upon such matters of delicacy he was employed during three years or more without holding any higher office than that of the King's confidant or private secretary.[3] His good service had, however, received practical recognition by a grant in November 1275 of the Wardenship of the Channel Islands at an annual farm or rent, which fourteen months later was exchanged for a free grant for life. The second grant was specially declared to be made 'on account of his intimacy with the King, of his long and faithful service from an early age, and in acquittance of debts incurred in the King's service.' A special proviso was added that Otho's executors 'should hold the islands, and their issues, for five years after his decease, for the acquittance of his debts, and the fulfilment of his will, without rendering any accounts therefore.'[4] This grant gave Otho a position of singular authority. But of his connection with the Islands I shall have more to say in another place.

The royal favour brought Otho wealth and influence in abundance. Of the King's grant he held in Ireland by the service of two knights' fees the castle, cantred, and land of Okonagh, the town of Tipperary, the castle and land of

[1] *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I., i. 493.

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I., i. 77, 85, 98, 112, 156, 184.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 389: Otho de Grandison, 'one of the King's household and the King's secretary'; *Rôles Gascons*, 558, 1488.

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I., i. 125, 188, 193.

Kilfekle, the land of Muskerye, the manor of Kilselam, the town of Clonmel, and the land of Estremoye.[1] In England he had a house at Westminster,[2] with tenements in London, and lands in Kent and other counties, which he owed to his friendship with Robert Burnell, the famous Chancellor, with Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and with Eleanor, the King's mother.[3] The circle of his friends included, in addition to those already named, Antony Bek, the future Bishop of Durham, John Langton, afterwards Chancellor to Edward I. and Edward II., with whom he corresponded on friendly terms,[5] and John de Vesci, who had been his companion in arms during the Crusade. Otho, on his part, was not unmindful of his friends. Richard Guydechon, merchant of Lucca, sought his aid in a financial dispute with the abbot of Meaux.[4] When Thomas Salekyn, the boatman at Dover, feared that he would lose the house which he was alleged to have built on the common soil, it was to his 'very dear lord, and it please him friend, Sir Otho de Granson,' that he appealed for protection.[6] Many, too, were the nephews and kinsfolk from Savoy and Burgundy for whom Otho was able to obtain ecclesiastical preferment and profitable employment in England, establishing a connection which we can trace far into the fourteenth century.[7] Clearly it was no ordinary position which enabled Otho, within a few years after his

[1] See *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I., i. 296, ii. 337, 372; *Cal. Close Rolls*, iii. 88, 137; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 254, 366; and *Minutes of Evidence*, *Barony of Grandison*, pp. 5, 6 (giving the grant in full). The original grant was for life only; exchanged for one in fee in 1281.

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 435. In 1292 a royal council was held 'in domo Ottonis de Grandison extra palacium domini regis apud Westmonasterium.' *Rot. Parl.* i. 76.

[3] *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 221, 346, 465; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 357 (Sheen, Surrey), ii. 417 (Ditton, Cambridgeshire, and Thurveston, Bucks), iii. 57 (Shenley, Herts), 188; *Cal. Close Rolls*, i. 510, ii. 241 (Kemsing and Seal, Kent). See also Hasted, *History of Kent*, i. 128, 231, 328, 338. The manor of Grandisons at Wilmington in Kent preserves his name. Knole in the same county was at one time his property.

[4] *Ancient Correspondence*, xxvi. 34, and xxxv. 59. See pp. 159, 192, below.

[5] *Ibid.* xxx. 101. See p. 189, below. [6] *Ibid.* xxxi. 5. See p. 191, below.

[7] See pp. 179–188, below.

return to England, to thus command the friendly favours of the great, and in his turn do service for others less fortunate.

When trouble began with Llywelyn of Wales Sir Otho de Grandison found more active employment. At the commencement of hostilities in January 1277, he was serving as banneret under the Earl of Lincoln, with four knights and ten troopers as his personal following, a number of lances which was equalled only by those of his friend, John de Vesci. With Vesci as his colleague Otho during the summer had charge of the operations in Anglesey, which helped materially to bring about the temporary submission of Llywelyn. In November he was again to the front as one of the commissioners who arranged terms of peace with the Welsh Prince.[1]

The Welsh war had but just ended, when in January 1278 Otho was appointed with Robert Burnell to settle the King's affairs in Gascony, where during a tour of six months they administered the duchy with vice-regal powers.[2] Other business had kept them for a time in Paris, and they only reached La Reole on May 22. On November 14 they were back at St. Denis, whence Otho went on to pay a visit to his native land. There he thought of marrying a daughter of Count Otto of Burgundy. On March 11, 1279, Edward wrote that out of regard for Otho's honour and advantage, he would have desired that such an affair should be arranged in his presence, or at least after conference with him, but since in matters of this sort the wishes of the contracting parties commonly defeat the wishes of others, he would agree to whatever Otho's kinsfolk and friends might approve.[3]

This matrimonial scheme came to nothing, and a little later Otho returned to England to resume his routine duties

[1] Morris, *English Wars of Edward I.*, pp. 121, 134, 142; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 197–8, 212.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 253, 298; *Cal. Close Rolls*, i. 493. See also M. Bémont's Introduction to *Rôles Gascons*, p. xxii.

[3] *Ancient Correspondence*, xiii. 51. See p. 188, below.

as one of the king's councillors.[1] Then in the late summer of 1280 he was again sent abroad on a confidential mission to the Papal Court.[2] This embassy was concluded within the year, for on July 6, 1281, he was once more engaged on military service with John de Vesci in Anglesey.[3] In the following year came another foreign mission, on this occasion to his native land to arrange terms of peace between Count Philip of Savoy and Rudolph of Habsburg.[4] His brother Gerard, the Bishop of Verdun, had died four years before; the chapter, supported by the Count of Champagne wrongfully withheld part of his estate; James and Henry de Grandison, who were then at Orvieto in the king's service, petitioned Edward on June 11 to allow Otho to use the opportunity of his presence in Germany to secure a just settlement.[5]

In the spring of 1282 Llywelyn had renewed the war in Wales. When Otho came home at the close of the year, he was at once appointed to his old command in Anglesey. The position was an important one; for by securing that island and the command of the sea Grandison was able to cover the King's triumphant advance from Bangor to Carnarvon and Harlech. His services marked him out for high office when peace was secured, and in March 1284 he was made Justiciar of North Wales. Nominally Otho retained that post for nine years, though during the greater part of the time the duties were discharged by a deputy.[6] But in the earlier and more

[1] *e.g.* as an auditor of the accounts of the Ricardi on Dec. 10, 1279; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 354. See p. 189, below.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 389.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 448. He was at Westminster on June 8.—*Rôles Gascons*, 479.

[4] *Rôles Gascons*, 558. See Pauli, *Bilder aus Alt England*, 105; *Ancient Correspondence*, xiii. 52.

[5] Champollion, *Lettres de Rois et Reines*, i. 161, from *Ancient Correspondence*, xviii. 33. On the same date Henry de Grandison wrote to Edward on behalf of John de Pontisara, and reporting the news of the Sicilian Vespers, 'the whole island is in open rebellion'—*Revue Historique*, lxxxvii. 66, from *Ancient Correspondence*, xviii. 32, formerly *Royal Letters*, 1215. M. Langlois, *Philippe le Hardi*, p. 140, has erroneously suggested that Otho himself was at Orvieto, and sent the news to England.

[6] Morris, *English Wars of Edward I.*, pp. 189, 191, 209, 218.

critical period he was present in Wales in person. He had a special charge, as it would appear, for the building and care of Edward's famous castles. His brother William, who served as his lieutenant, is mentioned as employed on the fortifications of Carnarvon,[1] and when the see of York fell vacant Otho had custody of it in order that he might apply the issues to the construction of castles in Wales.[2] There was something peculiarly appropriate in this appointment. Otho was not only familiar with the finest of mediaeval fortresses in the great castles of Palestine, but in his native land had witnessed the rebuilding of Chillon, of his own ancestral home at Grandson, and of other famous castles, by his first patron, Count Peter. We have no means of determining what share Otho may have had in designing the Edwardian castles, though he is mentioned as having the oversight of the building of Builth.[3] However, his tenure of office in Wales supplies a curious personal link between the English, Continental, and Crusading fortresses.

At the close of 1285 King Edward, freed at last from the anxieties of the Welsh war, was contemplating a visit to Gascony. The immediate purpose of his going was that he might if possible arrange the quarrel between the rival claimants to the Sicilian throne, Charles of Anjou and James of Aragon. For Edward that dispute had a practical interest, through its indirect bearing on the fortunes of Gascony. It touched also his more sentimental ideals, by making all his efforts for a renewal of the Holy War of none effect. It was for this double purpose that in December 1285 Otho de Grandison was sent to Rome on a mission to Honorius IV. His first business was no doubt to ascertain for his master

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I., ii. 302, 329, 397. See also as to Conway on p. 190.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 193—date September 1285. From this source 1,378*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* was received between Sept. 15, 1285, and April 16, 1286—Raine, *Historians of Church of York*, iii. 236. See *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 151, for supplies to be sent from Somerset for the castles in Wales, in January 1285; and *Cal. Close Rolls*, ii. 273, for supplies to be sent from Ireland, in August 1284. See also *Rôles Gascons*, 1420.

[3] Morris, *English Wars of Edward I*, p. 148.

the intention of the Papal Court in the Sicilian affair, but he was also instructed to urge the Pope, in the general interest of Christendom, to secure an early settlement. In the following May Edward himself left England, and early in the summer Grandison rejoined him in Gascony to report the results of his mission.[1] In the long negotiations which followed, in the abortive treaty of Oloron in July 1287, in the arrangement of a marriage between the King's daughter Eleanor and Alfonso of Aragon, and in the eventual treaty of Canfranc in October 1288, Otho had an important and confidential share.[2] Under the latter treaty Charles the Lame, the Angevin claimant to the crown of Sicily, obtained his release from captivity in Aragon, upon conditions and under a guarantee from the English king. Charles went at once to Italy, where Nicholas IV., who had succeeded Honorius as Pope, abrogated entirely the treaty, and encouraged him to renew the war with James of Aragon. Edward, naturally indignant at so flagrant a breach of good faith, thereon sent Otho de Grandison to expostulate with Nicholas for stirring new strife among Christians at the very time when the cause of the Cross in Palestine was threatened with imminent and overwhelming disaster.[3]

## II.—The Fall of Acre.

During the seventeen years that had elapsed since Edward and Otho left Palestine, the fortunes of the Christians in that country had gone from bad to worse. The phantom kingship of Jerusalem, reft of all reality of power, was disputed for by rival claimants, who could impose no restraint on the military jealousy of the great Orders of the Hospital and Temple, or on the commercial antagonism of the Venetians and Genoese. So while the Christians

[1] *Foedera*, i. 653, 666; *Registrum*, Honorius IV., 371, 620, 625, 686.

[2] *Foedera*, i. 678, 685, 689, 693.

[3] *Foedera*, i. 708—May 8, 1289. Otho left Bastida de Meason (Mézin) in Guienne on May 10, on his way to the Roman Curia. (Gough, *Itinerary of Edward I.*, ii. 57.) See also Amari, *War of Sicilian Vespers*, and *Rôles Gascons*, 1488, 1495, 1496.

were destroying each other with internecine strife, the Saracens were conquering one by one the strongholds of the military Orders and the villages and towns of the Franco-Syrian lords. Markab, the majestic maritime castle of the Hospitallers, was taken by Sultan Kalawun in 1285. Four years later, in the summer of 1289, the city of Tripoli, which was so rich and populous that four thousand weavers are said to have found employment in its factories, fell a prey to the infidel. The city was sacked and burnt with every circumstance that could add horror to war, and thousands of the citizens slain. Those who escaped on board the ships that lay at anchor in the harbour, took refuge at Acre, as many from other towns and places had done before. Thus the population of Acre was much increased, and in the expressive words of an English chronicle: 'There were gathered together, not as of old time holy and devout men from every nation under the sun, but wantons, wastrels, topers, mimes and players out of every country in Christendom. All such manner of folk had flowed into that sacred city as it were into a sink, and polluted it with the foulness of their lives and habits.' [1]

The Syrian Franks had long since abandoned themselves to the luxury of the East. The West recruited them no more with religious enthusiasm, but only with the trader's greed for gain, and the dissolute violence of a hired soldiery. So Acre in the last years of the thirteenth century had come to present in combination all the worst features of a military camp and of a great commercial port. The evil was increased by the lack of any central power which could enforce its authority upon all. The city was indeed a curious microcosm of mediaeval life. The traders of Venice, Genoa, Marseilles, and other towns had each their separate quarters, fortified, not against the Saracen foe, but against their Christian rivals. The lords of the land and the Masters of the three great military Orders had each their strong towers. The legate of the Pope, the bailiffs of the Kings of England, France,

[1] Hemingburgh, ii. 23.

and Cyprus all exercised their authority in independence. Thus within the walls of one city there were seventeen separate and distinct communities. 'Whence,' says Villani quaintly enough, 'there sprang no small confusion.' [1]

To this ill-assorted assemblage of merchants and mercenaries the news of the fall of Tripoli came as a sudden shock. It may have stirred them for the moment to remember the original purpose of their presence in Palestine. It must have forced them to realise that, unless there arose some great and marvellous deliverance out of the West, the day would soon arrive when Acre should share the fate of her sister city. For the time all seem to have accepted the leadership of Henry of Cyprus, who represented in his own person the lines of Baldwin of Jerusalem and of Bohemond of Antioch. Henry's first care was to conclude a two years' truce with the Sultan of Egypt; his next was to send Jean de Grailly, 'captain of the soldiers of the King of France,' to beg for the Pope's assistance in the present miserable condition of the Holy Land.

Jean de Grailly reached Italy while Sir Otho de Grandison was still at the Papal Court.[2] Nicholas IV. was in the thick of his strife with James of Aragon. But this double appeal seems to have roused him to some sense of the special duty which as Pope he owed to the Christians in the East. In reply to Jean de Grailly he promised to send a fleet of twenty galleys to the assistance of Acre, while under the influence of a fresh remonstrance from Edward of England he abandoned for the time his Italian schemes, and endeavoured to arrange a truce between the rival claimants to the throne of Sicily.[3]

[1] Ap. Muratori, xiii. 338. On the state of Acre just before its fall see also *Chron. Equitis Teutonici*, cclx–cclxvi, ap. Matthaeus, *Veteris Aevi Analecta*, v.

[2] Otho was with Nicholas at Rieti on Aug. 26, 1289; he was at Rome on Nov. 5 and as late as Dec. 13. *Registrum*, Nicholas IV., 1351, 1648, 1892, 2162.

[3] *Ibid.* 2252, 2260. The galleys were promised at Rieti on Sept. 13. In October William de Houdon came to Rome on a mission from Edward 'in re Terrae Sanctae.'

Sir Otho de Grandison, when sent on his mission to the Pope, had been charged also by his master to seek the help of James of Aragon for the proposed Crusade. Edward himself, though by position and experience marked out as the most natural leader of the West, was of an age that should exempt, if it did not debar, him from so perilous an undertaking. In the youthful James of Aragon there appeared to be combined the power, the ability, and the spirit of adventure, which were needed for the leader of a new Crusade. James was now at Gaeta, and thither Otho, accompanied by Raymond the Catalan, bore to him the invitation of the English King and of the Pope. Their proposals were dazzling enough to blind that prince to the warnings of his councillors, who reminded him of the fate of Frederick II., but they did not overcome his natural astuteness. James bargained for a truce in Italy, and for an assurance that he should hold his conquests as King of Jerusalem: on these terms he would go to the East in person with thirty galleys, three hundred knights, and ten thousand foot soldiers.[1] Such an arrangement would have deprived Charles of Anjou of his titular kingship in Palestine, without securing to him his more valuable claims in Italy. It was a bargain that was perhaps not intended seriously. Certainly it was not one to which Charles, or Nicholas as his ally, was likely to assent. In the result Otho returned to his master in England without having accomplished much that was effectual to the purpose in hand.[2]

The chivalrous aspect of the Crusades appealed strongly to one side of Edward's character, and to the very day of his death he cherished the hope that he might yet fulfil the promise of his youth. The comparative failure of his envoy, therefore, only confirmed his desire to render aid in person to the Christians of Palestine. Still he had but lately returned to

[1] Bartholomew de Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, ap. Muratori, xiii. 1159; Dr. H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, i. 2–7.

[2] He was back in England before April 18, 1290 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, Edward I., iii. 152). While at Rome he had suffered from recurrent fever (*Various Collections*, i. 256, Hist. MSS. Comm.).

England after his prolonged absence in Gascony, and domestic affairs required his attention. His own departure must therefore be postponed for two years at least. In the meantime Sir Otho de Grandison was to go to Acre, and prepare the way for the King's own coming. All this had been definitely arranged before the middle of May,[1] but the work of preparation required some time. Otho must have felt it not improbable that he would never return. His own affairs had therefore to be set in order; his Irish lands were with the king's licence transferred to his nephews and his brother William, who also became his lieutenant for the Channel Islands.[2] The expenses of the journey must likewise be provided for. Under the pledge of the royal security the merchants of the Society of the Amanati at Pistoja advanced three thousand marks;[3] and the money thus obtained was supplemented by contributions from English sources.[4] Early in July Otho received the cross at the hands of Archbishop Peckham,[5] and a few days later set out for Palestine with a small company which included more priestly pilgrims than men-at-arms.[6] He would, however, find at Acre the force of soldiers whom Edward maintained there under the command of the Knights of St. Thomas.[7]

On his way through Italy Otho went again to the Papal

[1] *Fasti Eboracenses*, 337.

[2] *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 366; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edward I., iii. 137, 359; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 372.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 373.

[4] John Romanus, archbishop of York, gave the first fruits of the archdeaconry of Richmond (*Fasti Eboracenses*, 337). William de St. Rémy, bailiff of Guernsey, had stringent orders from the King to collect all arrears and dues without delay, since Otho was in great need of money (*Rôles Gascons*, 1924).

[5] B. Cotton, *Chron.* 177.

[6] The following were some of Otho's companions: Alexander de Esselington; Robert de Cadbury, canon of Wells; William de Cestria, parson of Great Acle; Hugh FitzJohn; Ralph de Whaddon; William le Lange; Peter de Wyppayns, and Peter d'Estavayer, his nephews. Otho had letters of protection on June 10. The latest document relating to his mission is dated July 20, but he may himself have started somewhat earlier. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 356–376.)

[7] *Chron. Equitis Teutonici*, cclxiv., where it is stated that the Master of St. Thomas of Canterbury had under him 5,000 soldiers, whom the King of England had sent. The number is no doubt a gross exaggeration.

Court at Orvieto to learn what arrangements had finally been made for the relief of Acre. For though Nicholas had not been willing to lay aside his schemes for Papal aggrandisement at King Edward's bidding, he was for very shame compelled to perform his promise to Jean de Grailly. Nicholas had also prepared an abundance of good counsel for the patriarch, which he sent him in letters, no doubt by the hands of Otho de Grandison, who, after spending a month at Orvieto, started on the last stage of his journey about mid-October.[1]

Early in the year, at the Pope's request, the Republic of Venice had despatched a fleet of twenty galleys to Acre under the command of Jacopo Tiepolo, son of the late Doge Lorenzo.[2] At his own cost Nicholas had equipped a force of 1600 mercenaries, and had furnished Jean de Grailly and another captain, named Rubeus de Suilly, with a thousand ounces of gold apiece.[3] The Venetian fleet, which probably conveyed the Pope's contingent, reached Acre at the beginning of summer to find the truce still in force, and the prospect of active warfare somewhat remote. With most of these so-called Crusaders the hope of profit, or love of adventure were more lively motives than zeal for the faith. So after a little, Tiepolo and Suilly went home with the fleet. The Papal mercenaries, who thus formed the only effective force that had come from the West, were destined to be the immediate cause of the disaster which they were intended to avert. Eager for plunder and impatient of restraint, in spite of remonstrances from the Syrian Franks, they began to raid the neighbouring country, where they destroyed and burnt many Saracen villages.[4] Afterwards, being left without pay,

[1] Otho was at Orvieto on Sept. 15, and had apparently left or was leaving on Oct. 15. *Registrum*, Nicholas IV., 3279, 4385–88, 4391.

[2] Jacobus Tepuli de Venetis, ap. *Registrum*, Nicholas IV., 4400; cf. *Acta Aragonensia*, i. 1. Elsewhere he is called 'Scopulus' or 'Rocco.' In the *Gestes des Chiprois* (480) it is stated that 'Lescouple' was son of the Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo.

[3] *Chron. S. Bertini*, 770.

[4] *De Excidio Urbis Acconis*, i. 2. This was in August; cf. Makrizi, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks* (ed. Quatremère), ii. 109, who gives the date as Shaban, A.H. 689, i.e. August, 1290.

and in lack of the means of subsistence, they fell to plundering the Mohammedan merchants, who had come to Acre, under cover of the truce, for the purposes of peaceful trade.[1]

These repeated outrages excited the liveliest indignation in the mind of the Egyptian Sultan, Kalawun, who early in November left Cairo for Syria, with the intention of taking vengeance on Acre in the following spring. Kalawun had hardly begun his journey when he was seized with a sudden fever of which, after a month's illness, he died.[2] He had already sent ambassadors to Acre with a formal demand for the surrender of the truce-breakers under pain of open war.[3] Many, and among them the Master of the Temple, urged the justice and policy of yielding to the Sultan's demands. Others, however, declared that it had been the custom time out of mind, for the princes of the West, or their representatives to have liberty to disregard any truce that might be of force in the East. In the end the views of the latter party prevailed. An embassy was despatched to the Sultan with offers of liberal compensation, and an assurance that the late offenders should be held in custody till the expiration of the truce.[4] Khalil, who had succeeded his father as Sultan, listened to the pleading of the Christian envoys in silence. When they had done, he replied after a short interval with kingly dignity. Their words were as the honey and sugar used to conceal the presence of a deadly poison. He had kept the truce with loyal intent, but such an offence he could not, consistently with his duty, suffer to pass unpunished. They might depart in the assurance that within the appointed time he would come against their city with a mighty host, and destroy all, from the least to the greatest, by the sword.[5]

With this gloomy intelligence the envoys returned to

[1] Villani, vii. 144; *Chron. Lanercost*, 139; *Chron. S. Bertini*, 770.

[2] Makrizi, ii. 69, 110.

[3] Rohricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 1508; *De Excidio*, i. 3.

[4] *De Excidio*, i. 4, 5; Makrizi (ii. 120) fixes the date of the embassy to Khalil in Moharram, A.H. 690, i.e. January 1291, A.D.

[5] *De Excidio*, i. 5, 6; *Gestes des Chiprois*, 481, 485, 487.

Acre shortly after the arrival of Sir Otho de Grandison in Palestine.[1] The spirits of the citizens had risen at the prospect that Edward of England would ere long come to their aid in person. Now under the fresh shock of a common apprehension they forgot for the moment their mutual discord. One and all united in the heroic resolve to defend their city to the death, rather than incur eternal infamy by flight. 'Surely the princes over-sea will send us timely help when they hear with what peril we are encompassed.' At these words the Patriarch thanked God, who had made them to be of one heart and mind, and dismissed them to their homes with the charge: 'Be ye therefore constant, and ye shall behold the great help of the Lord come upon you.'[2]

Viewed in the light of later events there is a touch of tragic irony alike in the resolve of the citizens and in the words of the Patriarch. But for the time the old quarrels were hushed, and all joined heartily in the work of preparation for the siege. An urgent appeal was sent not only to the distant princes of the West, but also to the Christian states more near at hand. Henry of Cyprus came in haste from his island kingdom with three hundred knights. Help came also from the islands and cities on the coast of Asia Minor, until at last there was mustered in Acre a force of nine hundred knights and eighteen thousand foot. Abundant store of the arms and engines of mediaeval warfare was provided. The fortifications were repaired and set in order. The custody of the walls was arranged for by the division of their circuit into four wards, to each of which two captains were assigned, who should keep watch and guard in turn. The first ward on the south was under Jean de Grailly and Otho de Grandison. The second was commanded by the King of Cyprus and the Master of the Teutonic Knights. Over the third and fourth were set the Masters of the Hospital and of the Temple, with whom there served as lieutenants the Masters of the Knights of the Sword, and of the Knights of the Holy Ghost. 'These are the eight men

[1] Hemingburgh, ii. 24. [2] *De Excidio*, i. 6, 7.

by whose prudence and counsel the city was to be governed. Had they been of one heart and mind, Heaven is our witness, Acre would still rejoice in the fulness of her strength.'[1]

The jealousy and discord which prevailed among the defenders of Acre are reflected in the inharmonious narratives that record the history of the siege.[2] It would seem that each survivor who told his story, did so in such manner as best might serve the reputation of the party to which he had himself belonged, but distorted or ignored the share which others had taken in the defence. Our accounts of the siege are consequently so hopelessly at variance that it is impossible to restore with certainty the exact progress of events within the walls of Acre. So far as we can judge from the contradictory statements that have survived, the root of the discord lay in the ancient jealousies of the Templars and Hospitallers. The Hospitallers could depend

[1] *De Excidio*, i. 8.

[2] The principal account is that contained in the tract *De Excidio Urbis Acconis* (ap. Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, v. 757–84), which was compiled soon after from the narratives of survivors; it favours the Patriarch and Hospitallers, and is for the most part hostile to the Templars and Otho de Grandison. Next in importance comes the *Gestes des Chiprois*, probably written by Gerard de Monreal, secretary to Guillaume de Beaujeu, Master of the Temple, who was present at Acre; naturally he praises his own Order and incidentally Grandison; nevertheless he does honour to the Marshal of the Hospital. The old-German *Chronicon Equitis Teutonici* (ap. Matthaeus, *Veteris Aevi Analecta*, vol. v. ed. 1738) is also the work of an eye-witness; while emphasising the part of the Teutonic Knights, it is not obviously partisan; the loss of Acre is attributed to the dissensions and divisions of the Christians, and to the licence of the Pope's mercenaries. Of the minor authorities Giovanni Villani (ap. Muratori, xiii. 338), Marino Sanuto (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 229–32) and the *Chronicon S. Bertini* (Martene, *Thesaurus*, iii. 770–1) favour the Templars, though the two last praise the heroism of the Patriarch at the close. Bartholomew de Neocastro (Muratori, xiii. 1182–4) refers to the hostility of the Pisans and Venetians for the men of religion, and to the quarrels of the two Orders, while praising Henry of Cyprus. The continuator of William of Nangis (i. 276–78) favours the Hospitallers, and condemns Henry. Of English writers Bartholomew Cotton and the Chronicle of Lanercost praise Otho de Grandison (who perhaps inspired the last) and also the Templars. The brief account in Trivet's *Annals* is colourless; it comes from a source used in the *De Excidio*. On the other hand, Hemingburgh is very disparaging to Otho, though not unfavourable to the Templars. The alleged treachery of the Templars at Acre was one of the charges brought against them in 1310.

on the support of the Patriarch, and perhaps in consequence have fared best at the hands of ecclesiastical chroniclers. With the Templars were ranged Sir Otho de Grandison, and probably Jean de Grailly, and perhaps also the King of Cyprus.

At the beginning of March 1291 the respite which the Sultan had allowed expired. Khalil himself left Cairo on the sixth of that month.[1] His emirs in Syria were already mustering his forces, and about the same time the advanced guard of the Saracen army appeared within a few miles of Acre. The bombastic writer, whose compilation is our main authority for the siege, is at a loss how to describe sufficiently the splendid terror of the Mohammedan host. The very earth trembled at the tramp of mailed men, and shook with the clangour of their trumpets, drums, and cymbals. The gilded shields of the soldiers flashed the rays of the sun across the hills as they marched through the valleys. Their spearheads danced in the sunlight like stars in the midnight sky. In mid-March the forefront of the Saracens appeared before Acre, and from that time till mid-April they gave the citizens no rest from constant alarms and incursions. Day and night they kept up an incessant din. They bellowed like bulls. They barked like dogs. They roared like lions. Ever, as is their wont, they drummed their huge tom-toms with their heavy knotted sticks.[2]

It was not till Thursday, April 5, that Khalil himself reached the camp before Acre. The siege then began in real earnest. Two days later the engines of war arrived, and in the space of four days were set in position.[3] When they were all complete, they 'numbered, great and small, six hundred and sixty and six, which poured by day and by night a ceaseless hailstorm of stones upon the walls and city.'[4] During the first week of the siege, while the Saracens were busy with their preparations, Otho de Grandison and

[1] Makrizi, ii. 121. [2] *De Excidio*, ii. 1. [3] Makrizi, ii. 125.
[4] *De Excidio*, ii. 3. Makrizi, *u.s.*, says 'four-score dozen,' which is perhaps accurate enough.

the Templars made a successful sortie, driving the infidels in headlong rout before them, and bringing back five thousand captives to the city.[1] But the host of the besiegers ever increased, and as one who was there—perhaps Sir Otho himself—told the Chronicler of Lanercost, 'the arrows flew thicker than the flakes of snow upon your hills in winter.'

Encouraged by their previous success, Otho and the Templars planned to make a second great sortie on the day of our common redemption (Good Friday, April 20), with their recent captives massed as a screen before them. When, however, they sought a blessing for their enterprise from the Patriarch, he, acting by the advice of traitors, forbade it altogether.[2] So the last chance of retrieving the fortunes of the city was let slip, and the time when the enemy was weakest was wasted in vain sallies and skirmishes. In one of the more successful Otho de Grandison was again joined with the Templars. They fired a part of the besiegers' works; but when the knights were emboldened to charge into the Saracen camp, their horses stumbled over the tent-ropes and many of their riders were slain.[3]

As the prospects of a successful resistance grew less, the citizens began to prepare for flight. Many sent their treasure and merchandise, their wives and little ones to Cyprus, so that there remained in Acre few besides those that were needed for the defence.[4] Some even of the fighting men fled away. Among these latter the slander of his enemies asserted falsely that there went Sir Otho de Grandison.[5] Yet for all such treasons, there were still left, if we may credit our most exact account, 12,000 fighting men, of whom 800 were knights.[6] Had they been of one mind, they might, in the face of all dangers, have held their charge till help came to them from the West. But the counsels of the Christians were

[1] *Chron. Lanercost*, 139. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Gestes des Chiprois*, 491. The original has 'Messire John de Granson'; but no doubt Otho is meant.

[4] *De Excidio*, ii. 3. It is of course impossible to reconcile this with the vast numbers alleged to have perished at the fall of the city.

[5] Hemingburgh, ii. 24. [6] *De Excidio*, ii. 3.

divided by many dissensions. The merchants of Pisa and Venice had interests and ideas which ran counter to those of the whole-hearted soldiers of the Cross. Not even at this supreme moment could the Templars and the Hospitallers sink their old rivalries. Worst perhaps of all was the presence of the Pope's dissolute mercenaries, who had more liking for wine than for war, and when the trumpet sounded to battle could not tear themselves from the charms of love.[1]

By the end of April Khalil had his siege-train in readiness, and pushing forward his lines began to undermine the walls of the city.[2] On May 4 a bombardment was opened, which continued for ten days without intermission. At the end of this time Khalil ordered the first direct assault to be delivered. The point chosen for attack was the ward of Henry of Cyprus, and the day went so badly for the Christians that darkness alone prevented the complete success of the Saracens. In the ensuing night the Cypriot prince with 3,000 of his followers went secretly aboard ship, and sailed away to his island kingdom. Henry's desertion was not, as it would seem, due to cowardice, but rather to despair and indignation at the petty jealousies which had led his allies to leave him without efficient support in the battle of the previous day.[3]

The mutual jealousies of their leaders had ever been the bane of the Crusaders since the time of Raymond of St. Gilles and the first Bohemond. But never did they work more powerfully on the side of the infidel than during the last four terrible days of the siege of Acre. The rival parties of the Christians fought bravely enough, each in their own ward; but without the guidance of a common leader whom all obey, even the most heroic valour must be spent in vain. The knights of the two great military Orders would render no help

[1] B. de Neocastro, *Hist. Sicula*, 1183.

[2] *Gestes des Chiprois*, 491.

[3] B. de Neocastro, 1183; *De Excidio*, ii. 3. Even the latter allows that Henry's flight was 'propter discordiam.' In the *Gestes des Chiprois*, 493, Henry is said to have only arrived at Acre on May 4, having been previously represented by his deputy; so also Marino Sanuto, ii. 231.

to one another. Both in the council chamber and on the battlements the Christian commanders worked at cross-purposes. The discords within the city were apparently well known to Khalil. It is probable that he made use of his knowledge so to direct his assaults that he might destroy his opponents in detail. Such, at all events, was the practical result of his operations.

The flight of the King of Cyprus had left his ward inadequately guarded. When on May 16 the Saracens renewed their assault, the weakness of the defence at this point was soon made manifest. Khalil was quick to take advantage of the opportunity. By his orders stones and earth and timber, and even the dead bodies of horses and other animals which had perished during the siege, were brought up and cast into the moat. Thus a practicable passage was made for the scaling party, who then carried the Turris Maledicta—name of evil omen—by assault. Before reinforcements could come to the help of the Christians, the Saracens had sprung their mines and broken down the walls for a space of sixty cubits. Through the breach they poured in overwhelming numbers. Across the outer bailey and back within the walls of the city proper they drove the defenders. The captains, as it happened, were then sitting in council. At the news of this disaster the Master of the Hospital, and his Marshal, Matthew de Clermont, who was perhaps the hero of these fateful days, donned their armour and rode forth, to find the streets packed with a panic-stricken crowd. 'Shame upon you!' they cried. 'Fools! you are not hurt. To the battle with you, by the faith of Christ.' Thus chiding their cowardice, Matthew rallied the fugitives, and charging at their head drove the Saracens back through the breach.[1]

Night once more came to the aid of the Christians, who under cover of the darkness made good their walls with a barricade of timber and stones as best they might. In such labour and in anxious council the night wore away. But mutual jealousies turned the wisdom of the captains to folly.

[1] *De Excidio*, ii. 5.

Though the barricade was stoutly defended, it was lost and recovered, only to be lost again. Thus the third day ended in disaster for the Christians, and at nightfall the Saracens encamped in full possession of the breach. Such credit as the undisciplined valour of the defenders deserved is claimed by the historians on either side for the leaders of their own party. The friends of the Hospitallers alleged that the Templars had lent no aid, while others asserted that the construction of the barricade and its defence were due to the energy of the Master of the Temple alone.[1]

Next morning at daybreak, on Friday, May 18, Khalil mustered his forces for the final assault. He had mounted his drummers on three hundred camels,[2] and amid their terrible din hurled the whole weight of his army through the breach. Part turned south to break open St. Nicholas' Gate and attack the Legate's Tower, where Otho de Grandison and Jean de Grailly still held their ward. The rest went north to assault the Gate of St. Antony in the inner circuit of the walls. The Master of the Temple was at his lodging, but when he heard the news rode in haste to St. Antony, where the Master of the Hospital and his knights soon joined him. Early in the day the Master of the Temple was shot through the joints of his harness as he raised his arm to direct the troops.[3] Soon after the Master of the Hospital was also mortally wounded. In the confusion caused by this double loss the Christians were overwhelmed and St. Antony's Gate was forced.

Meantime affairs had gone little better at the Legate's Tower, where Otho de Grandison and Jean de Grailly, attacked on all sides, made a great defence; until, when many were killed and wounded, their post became untenable, and they also were compelled to retreat.[5]

[1] *De Excidio*, ii. 6–10; Villani, vii. 144. [2] Makrizi, ii. 125.

[3] *Gestes des Chiprois*, 498. The writer saw the Master fall from his horse, and carried on a shield to the Temple, where he died at evening.

[4] *Ibid.* 499, confirmed by *Chron. S. Bertini*, 770. The author of the *De Excidio*, ii. 12, however, alleges that Otho and Jean de Grailly did not quit the conflict this day, because they had never entered it; they abandoned their ward and fled to the ships.

All general hope of resistance was now abandoned. Every man acted as he thought best for his own safety, and one after another took flight for the harbour. It was in vain that the brave Marshal of the Hospital strove to restore the fortunes of another day, and fighting in the midst of the foe, like a faithful soldier of Christ, 'rendered up his soul to God who gave it.'[1] The Saracens swept all before them, pillaging and burning as they fought their way through the narrow streets of the town. Then, as though fire and sword were not sufficient to work the ruin of the Christian cause, there arose the ominous murmur of a coming storm. Never were the defenders of a beleaguered town left in more desperate plight. In the rear were the flaming streets, in front the surging sea. Between fire and water, slavery and the sword, must the Christians, as it seemed, make their choice. The very element to which they had looked to ensure them in their extremity a means of salvation, now turned itself to their destruction. So many of the citizens had already fled over-sea that only a few vessels still lay at anchor in the harbour. Among the few was the Patriarch's own galley, to which his attendants had borne him against his will. On this occasion, at all events, the Patriarch showed that he could act as became his heroic words. In his anxiety to save as many of his flock as possible, he suffered the vessel to be so crowded that she could not weather the storm, and was lost with all on board.[2] Others of the fugitives were drowned in the attempt to reach the ships by swimming or in little boats. Yet many made good their escape, and it is hard to believe that, as one account alleges, there were 60,000 persons who fell into captivity through the fall of Acre.[3]

[1] *De Excidio*, ii. 12; *Gestes des Chiprois*, 505.

[2] The *Gestes des Chiprois* has another story, according to which a sailor who was helping the patriarch on board let him slip, and he was drowned.

[3] Villani, vii. 144; Bartholomew Cotton, 217, says that the Saracens took so many women captive that they were sold for a drachma apiece. Makrizi, ii. 125, says that an immense number of men were slain, and an incalculable multitude of women and children carried into captivity.

The Chronicler of Lanercost,[1] probably writing from the information of Otho de Grandison, relates that 'the Patriarch, that vain image, was the first to flee, whom followed other rich folk; but those defended themselves longest who had no desire save for righteousness.' The Templars had carried their Master to die in the great fortress of their Order by the waterside. It was the strongest place in the city, with massive walls, tall towers, and free access to the sea. There the remnant of the Templars were joined by other knights, including Otho de Grandison,[2] and by many of the citizens with their women-folk. The Templars still had numerous Saracen prisoners, and with these they bargained for their own safety. Khalil apparently accepted their overtures, and in reply offered them a safe-conduct with forty days wherein to depart. When the terms were arranged, an emir was sent with an armed force to superintend the embarkation. While all were busy preparing to leave, some of the Saracens who had been admitted to the castle offered violence to certain women among the fugitives. In their wrath at this outrage the Christians took up arms once more, closed their gates, and massacred all the Saracens who were within the Temple. The Sultan, dissembling his wrath, professed that his men had been to blame, and declared that the safe-conduct still held good. When, however, the Marshal of the Temple, trusting in his word, went out to a conference, Khalil promptly had him and his companions beheaded. A remnant of the Christians held out in the Temple and, when at last the great tower was undermined, perished with their assailants amid its ruins. This was on the tenth day after the fall of the city. In the meantime Sir Otho de Grandison and many others of the fugitives had been able to make good their escape.[3]

[1] *Chron. Lanercost*, 139–40.

[2] B. Cotton, *Chron.* 431, mentions Otto expressly as present in the Temple, and taking a principal part in events there.

[3] The author of the *Gestes des Chiprois*, 507–8, who was present part of the time, gives the best account of the defence of the Temple. This is supplemented from *De Excidio*, ii. 12; B. Cotton, 431; Hemingburgh, ii. 25; and *Chron.*

Such was the grievous fate of unhappy Acre. 'Holy Father!' cried Arsenius, the Greek monk, who bore the news to Pope Nicholas at Rome—'Holy Father! if thou hast not heard of our sorrow, out of the bitterness of my heart will I reveal it. Would to God that thou hadst not been so intent on the recovery of Sicily!'[1]

## III.—Foreign Missions.

Otho de Grandison, faithful to the end, was one of the last to leave Acre. Probably he accompanied the small remnant of the Templars in their flight, first to Sidon, and, on the fall of that city soon afterwards, to Cyprus. Some reminiscence of hazardous adventure may be preserved in the slanderous tale that Otho had fled under a false name, bearing with him for his own use the treasure which his master had intended for the service of the Cross.[2] In point of fact, he seems to have lost all that he had, and to have reached Cyprus in absolute need.[3] In the following January his friends in England were sending his yeoman, Peter de Weston, to Cyprus with a horse, clothes, and other requisites for his use.[4] Ten years afterwards the Pope ordered the Dean of St. Paul's, as collector of the tithe for the Holy War in England, to pay Otho de Grandison three thousand marks in compensation for his expenses on the Crusades, and for his losses at the sack of Acre.[5]

Otho remained in Cyprus over three years [6] endeavouring

*Equitis Teutonici*, cclxxvi. (where it appears that some of the other towers held out also). All but the last agree in the story of the outrage, though other details are not quite clear. Even Makrizi, ii. 126, says that when Acre was taken ten thousand Franks asked for amnesty, but Khalil divided them amongst his emirs, who slew them every one.

[1] B. de Neocastro, 1182.

[2] Hemingburgh, ii. 24.

[3] In the *Gestes des Chiprois*, 516, reference is made to the poverty and straits in which the refugee knights from Acre found themselves.

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I., ii. 465.

[5] *Cal. Papal Registers*, i. 599.

[6] On May 24, 1293, Otho de Grandison, 'going to the Holy Land,' had safe-conduct for three years (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 17). But a document

to appease the disputes of the Christians in the East. The author of the *Gestes des Chiprois* gives us one dramatic glimpse at his labours to this end. Of all troubles in the East at this time the most serious was the naval warfare of the Venetians and Genoese, which broke out with fresh vigour soon after the fall of Acre. When the Genoese fleet was on its way to encounter the Venetians at Layas, or Ayas, in the Gulf of Skanderoon, there fell in with them at Corycus a galley of Cyprus. 'She was manned by Syrians, Pisans, and Venetians, people hateful to the Genoese. There was also on board Messer Otho de Grandison, a knight from over-sea of great renown. Then Messer Otho spake unto the Genoese, and begged them earnestly to let him go with them to do some good. But the Genoese would not suffer it, and bade him keep his galley at a distance lest some evil might befall; for his galley-men were folk who had offended them in times past, yet for love of him would they fain do them no harm. So Messer Otho departed thence and came unto Cyprus, for he had been to visit and have speech with the King of Armenia.'[1] We know from other sources that in 1294 Thoros of Armenia invited a number of nobles from Cyprus, and among them Otho de Grandison, to give him their assistance in settling the affairs of his kingdom. No doubt it was during this visit that Otho made the acquaintance of Hayton, the Armenian historian, who, when describing his own labours for the good of his native land, cites 'that wise and noble lord, Otho de Grandison,' as one who could bear witness on his behalf.[2]

of identica date relating to Otho's lands in Kent shows conclusively that he was still in the East (*Placita de Quo Warranto*, 354). Probably the safe-conduct was in renewal of that which had been granted for a like term on June 10, 1290 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 363).

[1] *Gestes des Chiprois*, 542. The writer puts the events in 1293, but the correct date of the battle of Layas is that given above. Moreover, Otho's visit to Thoros was clearly in 1294.

[2] *Flos Historiarum*, ap. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, Documents Arméniens, ii. 327, 330. Otho cannot, as the editors conjecture, have been in Armenia between 1299 and 1303. Hayton was at the Papal Court during 1307.

The battle of Layas was fought on May 28, 1294.[1] If it were possible to accept the story that this was the occasion on which Marco Polo was captured by the Genoese, it would be interesting to speculate that Otho might have taken ship with his Genoese friends, have talked with the famous traveller, and been the bearer of his message from the Great Khan to the King of England. That Otho went home to the West on one of the Genoese galleys that fought at Layas is very probable. At all events, we find him visiting his relatives at Grandson during the summer of 1295, when he seems to have taken part in the warfare of the Bishop of Lausanne and the principal Vaudois nobles against Louis of Savoy.[2] In August of that year he was preparing to go with Amadeus of Savoy to discuss certain matters on Edward's behalf with two of the Cardinals. In the following November he was sent on a further mission to the King of the Romans in Germany.[3] Thus it was not till the spring of 1296 that Otho de Grandison returned to England after nearly six years' absence. On May 16 he was with Edward at Roxburgh, and at Whitsuntide, together with his old comrade, Jean de Grailly, was present in the army before Berwick.[4]

Whatever slanders about Otho may have reached England, it is clear that Edward put no belief in them. Otho at once resumed his old position, and for the next ten years was again the most trusted confidential envoy of the King of England.

During the greater part of these ten years Otho was employed on a series of diplomatic missions arising out of Edward's dispute with Philip of France. For this service his family ties with the nobles of Savoy and Burgundy, his

[1] See Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, i. Introduction, p. 43. At all events, Otho will have known Marco Polo's scribe, Rusticien de Pise, who obtained his knowledge of the Arthurian Romances from a book of King Edward of England in 1270; *ibid.* pp. 62, 63. He might also have met the Polos at Acre in 1271.

[2] *Soc. de l'Histoire de la Suisse Romande*, v. 67.

[3] *Foedera*, i. 834, 837; *Anc. Correspondence*, xiv, 36.

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I. iii. 188; B. Cotton, *Chron.* 312; Langtoft, ii. 238.

long experience at the Roman Curia, and his familiarity with the affairs of Gascony gave him peculiar qualifications. The negotiations of the previous autumn had reference to this matter, and it was no doubt to report their results that Otho came to the King at Roxburgh. Immediately afterwards he was sent on a fresh mission to arrange, with the help of Cardinals,[1] appointed by the Pope, for a truce between Edward and Adolph of Nassau, King of the Romans, on the one part, and the King of France on the other. His colleagues on this occasion were Walter Langton, the King's treasurer, and Amadeus of Savoy. The embassy was at Paris during July, and on September 14 was at Moulins.[2] Their powers were renewed in November, and Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, was then associated with them. At the same time Otho was directed to negotiate with the Duke of Lorraine and the nobles of Burgundy for their assistance in the event of war with France.[3] Apparently Otho allowed his compatriots to make too good a bargain ; for, when some years later Edward sanctioned the payment of 10,000*l. tournois* under the agreement, he did so with a remonstrance 'believing that he owed them nothing, as their claim for the subsidy related to the time of truce.'[4]

In the spring of 1297 the centre of interest moved north, and Otho after a short visit to England was sent with Walter Langton and Amadeus to open negotiations with Guy, Count of Flanders.[5] A Flemish historian relates that 'le seigneur de Grénésie' was one of an embassy which came to treat with Guy for a marriage between his daughter and the son of the King of England, and was received very honourably

[1] Berard de Goth, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, and Simon Cardinal Bishop of Praeneste ; *Foedera*, i. 840, 842.

[2] Walter de Langton's accounts for this mission are preserved in *Exchequer Accounts* (K.R.) 308 (19). They include several payments to Otho de Grandison in July–October 1296 amounting to 725*l.*, one of 100*l.* at Cambrai on Oct. 27, 1297, and another of 400*l.* at Brabant in January 1298: all of course *Livres Tournois*. The modern silver value of the Livre Tournois would be rather over 14 shillings; that of the English pound of the same time about 3*l.* 5*s.*

[3] *Foedera*, i. 857.

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 432.

[5] *Foedera*, i. 857.

at Ghent.[1] The reference must be to this mission of 1297, and it is tempting to find in the 'seigneur de Grénésie' an allusion to Otho's island lordship.[2] But though Otho occasionally styled himself 'dominus Insularum' there is no evidence for the use of the title here given, which may be only a corruption of Grandson. Count Guy, when seeking Otho's help for a merchant of Douai, who had been defrauded at Winchester, addresses him as 'Oste de Greencon.'[3] The English ambassadors were at Bruges on May 3, 1297,[4] and Otho remained abroad on this business throughout the summer. On August 2 Edward wrote to his 'trusty and loyal' Otho de Grandison, that he was shortly coming to Flanders and desired to meet him there. Otho took part in the subsequent negotiations with the French king, which led up to the agreement of January 31, 1298, referring the whole dispute to the arbitration of Boniface VIII.[5] He was naturally chosen to be one of the proctors to represent the English interests when the case was heard before the Roman Curia. His presence at Rome and his familiar acquaintance with Eastern troubles may have had something to do with the suggestion, which the Pope made at this time, that Edward should help the King of Armenia with a subsidy.[6]

Boniface delivered a preliminary award in the Anglo-French dispute on June 30, 1298. Otho apparently remained abroad for some time longer, though he was certainly back in England before July 30, 1299. To the Parliament which met in the following September he received a summons as baron,[7] his highest English dignity. His brother William

[1] *Receuil des Hist. de France*, xxii. 352–3. Edward 'envoya son cousin l'evesque de Lincolle et le seigneur de Grénésie par devers le conte Guyon.' The chronicler dates it in 1291; his editors in 1294; but Otho can only have taken part in the embassy of 1297.

[2] As by M. Dupont, *Hist. du Cotentin et ses Iles*, ii. 184.

[3] *Ancient Correspondence*, xxx. 75. [4] *Foedera*, i. 860–3.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 881–885. Otho was at Grolingues, near Courtray, on Nov. 23, 1297, and at Tournay on January 31, 1298. For his share in the treaty of Jan. 31, 1298, see Funck-Brentano, *Chroniques Artesiennes*, 24–5, 28.

[6] *Foedera*, i. 900. [7] *Parliamentary Writs*, i. 642.

had been summoned for the first time in the previous February, which seems to show that Otho was not then present. Meantime the negotiations with France had been progressing, and on September 26, 1300,[1] Otho de Grandison was nominated with the Earl of Lincoln and Amadeus of Savoy to again plead the English cause before the Pope.[2] Otho himself had left England much earlier, for in October 1301 he was allowed 332*l.* for expenses incurred as envoy at Rome from June 21, 1300, to May 31, 1301.[3] The negotiations dragged on slowly, and Otho remained abroad. In the autumn of 1301 he was again appointed with Walter Langton, Bishop of Lichfield, Amadeus of Savoy, and his nephew, Gerard de Wyppayns, to represent English interests at Rome. Otho and Amadeus were entrusted with special powers, but much to Edward's vexation allowed some other business to detain them, presumably in Savoy.[4]

Nevertheless Otho was one of the envoys who in April 1302 were appointed to conduct the negotiations at Paris.[5] In the summer he was back in England, no doubt to report progress,[6] and on October 29 was again appointed as one of the envoys to France.[7] However, Otho and his colleagues only crossed the Channel on February 14, 1303.[8] From that time till June they were busy with the negotiations relating to the definitive treaty of peace between Edward and Philip IV.[9] The treaty concluded, Otho de Grandison, Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and Amadeus were sent on to Gascony to take seisin of the territory which Philip had

[1] Otho was in England in April 1300; see *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iii. 501–5, and *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I., iv. 334, 341, 355.

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iii. 543.

[3] *Ibid.* iii. 607. He had letters for going abroad on Aug. 3, 1300 (*Ibid.* iii. 530). Possibly he went backwards and forwards between Rome and England, for on Feb. 1, 1301, he had letters again (*ibid.* iii. 568).

[4] *Ibid.* iii. 616, iv. 24; *Cal. Close Rolls*, iv. 580.

[5] *Ibid.* iv. 30.

[6] *Ibid.* iv. 54, 56, showing that Otho was at Westminster on Aug. 15, 1302.

[7] *Ibid.* iv. 67.

[8] *Chron. Edw. I. and Edw. II.*, i. 129. Cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 114.

[9] *Ibid.* iv. 56, 67, 128, 152.

agreed to surrender.[1] Otho and his colleagues were styled the king's vicegerents in the duchy, and while their mission lasted the seneschals, John Hastings, and John de Havering, acted under their orders. They were still at Bordeaux on June 24, 1304, when they received the oath of Margaret de Foix. The mission was certainly over before April 6, 1305,[2] and Otho was probably then back in England.

Before long Otho was sent again to Gascony, reaching Bordeaux about August 1, when he received an allowance of ten casks of wine.[3] The purpose of this second mission was probably connected with the recent election of Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, to be Pope by the title of Clement V. It was under Otho's advice, as chief of the King's Councillors in the duchy, that John de Havering, the Seneschal, made arrangements for providing the Pope with a suitable escort for his journey through the English King's dominions on his way to be crowned at Lyons.[4] On August 16, there came the alarming news that the Count of Foix had invaded Armagnac and was plundering the country far and wide. By Otho's advice the Seneschal hastily assembled the forces of the duchy, and within a short space compelled the Count to sue for the Pope's mediation.[5] This danger had probably called Otho away from Bordeaux, for John de Benstede, who was bringing despatches from the King, had to send a messenger to seek Otho in the parts of Toulouse, and to turn out of his direct road to receive a reply at Rocamadour. Benstede had come to explain certain matters to the Pope, and to take the advice of Sir Otho de Grandison in dealing

[1] *Rôles Gascons*, 4589. The date was June 4, 1303, but Otho and Lincoln had been at Bordeaux on March 6 of the same year, and at Mirambeau on March 9 (*ibid.* 4746; *Ancient Correspondence*, xxx. 118, 119).

[2] *Rôles Gascons*, 4865, where Otho and Lincoln are styled 'nuper vice-gerentes.' On this Gascon mission see further *ibid.* 4602, 4700, 4731–2, 4736, 4828, 4841.

[3] Account of John de Havering ap. *Rôles Gascons*, iii. p. cc. 'Domino Othoni de Grandisono, recipienti in eodem festo S. Petri ad Vincula predicto, in primo adventu suo Burdegale, 10 dolia vini, de vinis provisis et emptis ad opus domini Regis et ducis, precii cujuslibet 15 l.t.'

[4] *Ibid.* iii. p. cxcix.

[5] *Ibid.* iii. pp. cxcvii–cxcix.

therewith.[1] He reached Bordeaux on August 29, stayed but two days, and returned in haste to England, reaching London on September 20. Pope Clement left Bordeaux on September 4, and travelled slowly by way of Agen, Toulouse, Beziers, Montpellier and Nismes to Lyons. Otho probably accompanied him, for he was apparently with the Pope at Lunel on October 19, and at Nismes two days after.[2] There was indeed hardly time for him to have returned to England before his appointment on October 15, with the Earl of Lincoln and Walter Langton, to represent the English King at the Pope's Coronation, and discuss the possibility of a new Crusade.[3] On the same date Otho was commissioned to treat with John, Count of Bar, touching the assignment to him of lands in Scotland, and the coming to England of the King's granddaughter Joan of Bar.[4] John de Benstede held a subordinate post in the mission, and has again left us a precise account of his expenses.[5] The embassy left London on October 23, and reached Lyons on November 12, two days before the Pope's Coronation. Benstede remained at Lyons till March 3, and only reached London on the 26th of that month. The Earl of Lincoln had returned much sooner, for he had a public reception at London on February 16.[6] Otho de Grandison was still at Lyons on January 20.[7] He may possibly have gone on to visit his native land and remained abroad through the summer; for

[1] *Exchequer Accounts* (K.R.), 309 (9). Benstede left Dover on July 19, was delayed a few days in Paris, and was at Rocamadour on August 25. 'Parisius: pro expensis Guillot, nuncii Regis deferentis litteras predicti domini Regis domino Ottoni de Grandisono directis et eundem querentis in partibus Tolosanis, x*l.* viii*s.* Item nuncio domini Otonis de Grandisono venienti ad dominum in partes de Rochemadour cum litteris domini sui directis dicto domino Johanni pro negociis Regis.'

[2] *Regestum Clementis Quinti*, 22, 44.

[3] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 287; *Foedera*, i. 174.

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 386.

[5] *Exchequer Accounts* (K.R.), 309 (10). The account begins on October 15, and includes later expenses in England on an errand to the king at Winchester down to April 15.

[6] *Chron. Edw. I. and II.*, i. 143–4.

[7] *Cal. Papal Registers*, i. 7.

he was absent from England when on May 8 he was directed to negotiate a marriage between Robert, son of Count Otto of Burgundy, and the King's daughter Eleanor, then two days old.[1] A month later he was apparently once more at the Papal Court.[2] Otho came home in the autumn, and probably joined Edward at Lanercost, where he may have supplied the northern chronicler with details of the siege of Acre. He was at Carlisle on January 21, 1307, and attended the Easter Parliament there.[3] On June 21 he had letters of protection as going beyond seas in the King's service.[4] This was in fulfilment of his appointment to accompany the Prince of Wales on his intended visit to France. Probably Otho now bade his friend and master of fifty years farewell; for, when Edward died at Burgh-on-Sands a fortnight later, Otho de Grandison was apparently present as one of the King's Council in London.[5]

## IV.—The Island Lordship

Edward's death broke the long tie of affection which had bound Otho de Grandison to this country. His duties as one of his old master's executors detained him for a few months, but about the end of October 1307, he left England never to return.[6] One chronicler implies that his departure was due to disgust at the promotion of Piers de Gaveston.[7] But for this there is no other evidence. It was natural that Otho de Grandison, who had contracted no new relationships in England, should desire to return to the native land in which he had always preserved his interest. For nearly fifty years he had been Lord of Grandson, and the wealth which he had

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 431; on May 10 John de Ditton was appointed attorney for Otho de Grandison staying beyond seas.

[2] *Cal. Close Rolls*, v. 450.

[3] *Rot. Parl.* i. 210 *b*, 214 *b*; cf. *Cal. Close Rolls*, v. 491, 531.

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 531.

[5] Gough, *Itinerary of Edward I.*, ii. 293.

[6] *Ancient Correspondence*, xxviii. 15, documents dated October 2; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II., i. 9, Letters of protection dated October 26.

[7] Murimuth, *Chron.* 11.

acquired in the English service had enabled him to increase his importance as one of the greatest feudatories of the Count of Savoy.

In his ancestral home by the Lake of Neuchâtel Sir Otho de Grandison spent the last twenty years of his life. With characteristic activity he entered at once upon great plans suited to his retirement. He increased the ancient priory of Grandson, the church of which, with a fine Early Romanesque nave, still survives, and obtained for it with Pope Clement's aid fresh endowments.[1] More, he began to build a church at Grandson for the Franciscans very sumptuously,[2] and later on, in 1320, was a benefactor of the Carthusian monastery at La Lance close by.[3] So powerful was he that three of his kinsmen, Gerard de Wyppayns, Otho de Chanvent, and Pierre d'Orons were successively Bishops of Lausanne from 1301 to 1323. Yet amid his new occupations he did not lose touch with his old friends in England. We find him corresponding on friendly terms with John de Langton on behalf of his nephew Eudric de Wyppayns, and more formally with Walter Reynolds.[4] As the sons of his brother William grew to manhood they found in Otho their patron. John, who was the second of them and afterwards the famous Bishop of Exeter, owed to his uncle's influence his early promotion at the Papal Court. Otho, the youngest, was abroad three years, between 1317 and 1320, visiting, as we may fairly suppose, the famous uncle after whom he was named, and whose principal heir in England he became.[5]

For some years to come Otho was still from time to time employed on diplomatic missions in the English service. In November 1307 he was commissioned to treat at Paris for the new King's proposed marriage with Isabella of France. In June 1308 Edward II. appealed to him to intervene with the Pope on behalf of Piers Gaveston, and a little later Clement

[1] *Regestum Clementis Quinti*, 3141, 3161.
[2] *Ibid.* 2885-6.
[3] Matile, *Monuments de l'Hist. de Neuchâtel*, ii. 1173.
[4] *Ancient Correspondence*, xxxv. 59, 108.
*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II., iii. 10, 499, 599.

himself recommended Otho to Philip of France as the most suitable agent to be employed in reconciling Edward to his barons. In March 1309 Otho was at the Papal Curia on a mission for Edward II., and in 1311 was appointed as the English representative at the proposed General Council. When Edward II. had to go to Paris in May 1313, he appealed successfully to his father's ancient councillor to give him the benefit of his long experience in the negotiations with the French King. Even as late as December 1316 Edward II. was begging Otho to go again as his representative to the Papal Court.[1]

When Otho de Grandison left England he seems to have intended to go once more to the Holy Land,[2] possibly to fulfil his old master's wish that a hundred of his knights should do him posthumous service in Palestine. The downfall of his friends, the Templars, may have caused Otho to abandon this design. In the troubles of the Templars he was, however, no more concerned than that he had to use his influence with Pope Clement to obtain compensation for an annuity of two thousand livres Tournois, which he had from the Order. This annuity had been granted to him, over thirty years before by Jacques de Molay, the Master, 'in consideration of the great services which the noble and puissant Sir Otho de Grandison hath done and doth to us.' Such had been the magnificent reward of one who could command the favour of Edward of England. Now, in August 1308, Clement, anxious to do Otho meet honour, and mindful of certain hindrances which had befallen, granted him for life three houses of the Temple in France.[3] This

[1] *Foedera*, ii. 11, 12, 25, 50, 68, 128, 136, 145, 303; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. II., i. 579, 585; Baluze, *Vit. Pont.* ii. 109.

[2] Otho's intention is alluded to under date May 25, 1308, ap. *Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 2785.

[3] *Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 2938: 'Lugudiaci,' August 17, 1308, reciting the original grant of July 7, 1277, from Jacques de Molay: 'de Turribus, de Espallierco, et de Coulours, domos ejusdem ordinis Lingonen. Senonen. et Trecen. diocesium.' The houses were Thors (dep. Aube, arr. Bar-sur-Aube, cant. Soulaines), Epailly (dep. Côte d'Or, arr. Chatillon-sur-Seine, cant. Montigny-sur-Aube) and Coulours (dep. Yonne). See Delaville Le Roulx,

business had taken Otho on a visit to the Pope at Poitiers. He made good use of his opportunity to obtain the customary shower of promotions[1] for his kinsfolk and friends, and of privileges for his foundations at Grandson, and for the Abbey of Lac de Joux,[2] where the bodies of his ancestors lay buried.

In English records there would during these latter years be little mention of Otho de Grandison other than the periodical issue of letters of protection, were it not for his Lordship of the Channel Islands. To the history of that lordship we may now fitly turn back.[3]

The original grant of the Islands to Otho on November 25, 1275,[4] was liberal enough, but the remission of the farm in January 1277 made him practically supreme lord.[5] He styled himself 'dominus Insularum,'[6] and had his own silver seal like the King's privy seal, which was called the seal of the Baillie.[7] While his government lasted the King had no more

*Cartulaire de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers*, I. p. xcix, and Michelet, *Procès des Templiers*, i. 317, ii. 265. Otho was also on friendly terms with the Hospitallers : see Delaville Le Roulx, *u.s.* iv. 169, for a grant made on February 26, 1308, to Jacques de Lavigea in consideration of the services to the Order of his master, 'magnificus et potens vir dominus Otho de Grandissono, miles egregius.'

[1] *Regestum*, 2785, 2844, 2885–6, 2930–34, 3096–8, 3123, 3141, 3154–6, 3161–6. The dates are between May 25 and September 8, 1308, but chiefly in August and September. Otho may not have been present so early as May.

[2] The printed record (*Reg.* 3123) has 'Lacuviren,' no doubt in error for 'Lacu iuren.' *sc.* 'Lacu Jurensi' ; now Lac de Joux. The Abbey (a house of the Premonstratensian Order) is over twenty miles from Grandson. The village is still called L'Abbaye ; there is nothing left of the church but the very ancient tower, though some remains of the gateway and cloisters are incorporated in the adjoining houses.

[3] The history of the Islands during this time may be studied in M. Julien Havet's *Gardiens et Seigneurs des Iles Normandes*, ap. Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes, xxxvii. 201–6, 225–31, and *Les Cours Royales des Iles Normandes*, Paris, 1878. See also *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of the criminal law in the Channel Islands*, 1848 ; *Documents tirés des Rôles des Lettres Closes*, 1205–1327 ; *Ancient Petitions of the Chancery* ; the two last are publications of the Société Jersiaise, Nos. 9 and 16.

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 125.

[5] The grant of 1277 is printed in full by Havet, xxxvii. 225.

[6] See Havet, *Cours Royales*, 31, quoting from *Bibliothèque Nationale* MS. Lat. 10072 f. 201, 'magister Gulielmus de Sancto Remigio, attornatus domini Ottonis de Grandisono domini insularum.' Date November 20, 1280.

[7] The 'Communitas de Jereseye' complained of its use in 1320. Havet, *Cours Royales*, 160–61, 213. See also p. 194, below.

than the position of a suzerain, with a reversion of his rights five years after Otho's death. The islanders of Jersey and Guernsey were always jealous of their ancient privileges, and seem not at all to have liked the interposition of a permanent ruler between themselves and their sovereign. It was, moreover, a period acute with constitutional development, and the crisis was aggravated by the rigid and unsympathetic rule of an absentee lord. Otho on his part apparently regarded his government as a domain to be exploited. Only once, and that in his latest years, is he known to have visited the islands. With the exception of an interval from 1293 to 1298 the royal power was exercised during more than half a century, not by an officer of the King, but by the deputies of a lord who had no lasting interest in his lordship. Naturally the deputies made the immediate interest of their master their chief concern. The evil was increased by Otho's long absences from England, during which the deputies had to take their orders from his attornies.

Apart from the constitutional questions, which were the real subject of controversy during the early years of the fourteenth century, the Islanders had many practical grievances, for which Otho and his deputies were more directly responsible. Much of the trouble was due to the claims of alien priories on the mainland of Normandy, who held lands in the islands, to levy dues on the fisheries. The matter was complicated by the harshness with which Otho's officers exercised their master's own rights in the same regard. Probably these revenues were farmed to persons who had to make a profit for themselves, for in November 1278 Otho had licence to so demise to Amatus de Saubanichaz all the King's fisheries of 'Garnesin, Gesin, Rouni, and Cert.'[1] Complaints began in 1280 when the men of Jersey and Guernsey represented that Otho's bailiffs had taken possession of lands without reasonable cause, had immoderately

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 283; the editor refers this to places in Landes in Gascony; but clearly it means 'Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark.' For Les Laundes' in Guernsey see *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. II. i. 34.

amerced those who caught rabbits unlawfully, and would not suffer the islanders to salt, dry, and sell their fish as they had been always used to do.[1] Edward was not negligent of the possibility of injustice, and a mandate was issued to Otho to cause his bailiffs to make amends. The grievances of the islanders nevertheless continued, and came to a crisis a dozen years later under the strain of war with France. When Otho went to the Holy Land in 1290 he appointed as his attorneys the famous Robert Burnell, and his brother William de Grandison. At this time William de St. Rémy was bailiff of Guernsey, Peter de Arcis of Jersey, and Ralph Codon of Alderney and Sark. They had orders to render their accounts to Denis de Tilbury, a clerk of Otho de Grandison, whom Burnell had with the King's consent appointed for that purpose. They had orders also to preserve the King's liberties, rights, and customs in the islands, as well as in rents of mills and fisheries as in the custom of mackerel and other rents, and to levy and collect what was due to Otho de Grandison.[2] The King's rights were, of course, at this time in practical abeyance since all had been granted to Otho. Denis de Tilbury, besides the oversight of the bailiffs, whose title and judicial functions date from about this time,[3] had in addition considerable powers of his own; in February 1290 he had a commission of gaol-delivery in the islands, and was then directed to act in all that concerned Otho by advice of the jurats.[4] He was no doubt a faithful servant to his master, and saw that the bailiffs discharged their duties. The first complaint was against William de St. Rémy, on the ground that he had exacted more than was due. The King sent Thomas de

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 411.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 339, 393, 440, 484, 486.

[3] Havet, *Cours Royales*, 34–5: 'Othon de Granson prit l'habitude d'abandonner cette partie de ses attributions à des délégués spéciaux, qui reçurent le nom de *baillis* (nom auparavant syonyme de celui de gardien) et dont les fonctions formèrent dès lors un office distinct.' Otho's bailiffs are referred to in 1280; W. de St. Rémy was bailiff of Guernsey, Sark, and Alderney in February 1290.

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. 339, 440, 496.

Sandwich in June 1292 to make inquiry into all grievances, whereupon St. Rémy abjured the island. With strict justice it was ordered that if his property was not sufficient to provide compensation Otho de Grandison, as responsible for the acts of his bailiff, must make it good. However, St. Rémy appealed to William de Grandison, and with his help obtained pardon.[1] Presumably, he did not recover his office, for when we next hear of him he had gone over to the popular side.

Edward was no doubt anxious to do justice to all parties. Some means must be found to stop the disorder, which the outbreak of war with France made doubly dangerous. He took the islands into his own hands; but, with scrupulous regard for the interests of his absent friend, entrusted the keepership to Henry de Cobham, an old-time associate of Otho de Grandison.[2] Cobham's first charge was apparently to see to the safety of the islands, and it was probably on this occasion that William de Grandison had orders to send men-at-arms, horses, and crossbows to Jersey and Guernsey.[3] The war fell heavily on the islanders. The quay at Peter Port was twice destroyed by the French, many were killed in resisting the invaders, and much injury was done to fisheries and trade. Cobham was directed to make compensation, but none was granted. At last the 'Ylemans' got a hearing in Parliament at the time when the king was going to Flanders (August 1297). Cobham replied that he had spent all his receipts on the defence of the islands, but if he had remained in office would have dealt with the matter. 'After this Sir Otho de Grandison had a grant of the Islands by a new charter, like as he had had in times past.'[4] But though

[1] *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I., iii. 319, 359; Havet, xxxix. 207–8. The cause of the complaint seems to have been that St. Rémy had supported the alien priories in their claim for dues on the fisheries. Dupont, *Hist. du Cotentin*, ii. 169.

[2] *Rot. Parl.* i. 464, cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 213.

[3] *Ancient Correspondence*, xxvi. 35. An undated letter from W. de Grandison to John de Langton. See p. 192, below.

[4] *Rot. Parl.* i. 464. Cf. *Ancient Petitions*, 5, 6, and *Cal. Close Rolls*, iii. 427–30—petitions dated August 1295. Henry de Cobham was still keeper on August 25, 1295—*Ancient Correspondence*, xii. 127. On April 13, 1298, Nicholas

his bailiffs had since received goods to the value of 10,000*l. tournois*, no compensation had been paid. Nevertheless the islanders could get no redress, and continued their complaints that Otho's officers disregarded their ancient laws and customs. On September 16, 1299, Edward directed that the islanders should put their laws and customs clearly in writing. For this purpose justices were sent to hold inquiry, which took the form of pleas *de quo warranto*. To this the islanders seem to have taken exception on constitutional grounds, and so began a controversy which lasted thirty years.[1] The inconvenient request was evaded, but the allegation that the bailiffs had exceeded their duties was renewed. Probably there was some show of reason in this ; for it transpired that against Otho's express orders his bailiff had refused to restore the lands of William de St. Rémy until he had obtained excessive security.[2] On a fresh complaint the King appointed a hearing for both parties in September 1302,[3] and two years later Henry de Guildford, John de Ditton, and Reginald Carteret as justices itinerant visited the islands.[4]

After Otho's final departure from England his control over his deputies probably diminished, and the grievances of the islanders proportionately increased. In June 1309 there was a grand judicial eyre held by John de Frisingfield, William Russel and John de Ditton as the King's commissioners ; the two last at all events were servants of Otho's. The old complaints of excessive exaction of dues on fisheries and wreck, of vexatious restrictions on rabbit-catching, and of burdensome privileges of alien priories were brought up. Remedy was decreed for individual complaints, but this did not remove the cause of the grievance. When the islanders were called on to prove their privileges, they could only plead

de Cheny, then keeper, had orders to deliver the islands to Otho or his attorney, according to the form of grant made to the said Otho, before the beginning of the war, by reason of which the king caused them to be taken into his hands. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iii. 342.

[1] Havet, xxxvii. 226–7 ; *Cours Royales*, 10, 193–5.

[2] *Cal. Close Rolls*, iv. 418. [3] *Ibid.* iv. 591 ; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 97.

[4] *Ibid* iv. 215 ; *Rot. Parl.* i. 180–1 ; *Cours Royales*, 195–7.

immemorial custom. The justices did not venture on a decision, and referred the matter to the Court of King's Bench.[1] The islanders replied by a petition representing that the justices had made grievous amerciaments without calling the jurats, that for twenty-four years Otho's deputies had sought to be justices, and praying for others to be appointed, 'who were not allied to the said Sir Otho and his people.'[2]

So the sore remained open, and for nine years all parties argued to no purpose. In 1313 the islanders once more complained that Otho's bailiffs paid no heed to their laws and customs. The King with an easy evasion bade Otho allow their ancient rights. Otho, or his agents, made answer that nothing was charged against the laws and customs of Jersey, which were certain and declared, but those of Guernsey were uncertain and could never be reduced to writing. Frisingfield and his colleagues had found that the islanders were abusing their privileges to the detriment of the royal prerogative, and Otho therefore prayed that the men of Guernsey might be compelled to put their customs in writing as those of Jersey had done.[3] On this the King, in March 1314, ordered the jurats of Guernsey to render obedience to Otho and his bailiffs, or in default to appear before the King on the octaves of Trinity and show cause why the bailiffs should be sworn to observe the customs, which it was alleged they had refused to explain.[4] Thus for five years more the matter rested without any definite attempt at a conclusion, At last, however, on June 26, 1319, in response to the repeated complaints, four justices, of whom the chief were John de Stonor and William de Bourne, were appointed to review the process of the commission of 1309, and to inquire into the alleged grievances during the whole time that Otho had been keeper.[5] The new judges held long sessions, and on this occasion the

[1] *Placita de Quo Warranto*, 822–840; *Second Report*, 293–5; *Cours Royales*, 10, 11. Cf. also *Rot. Parl.* i. 416, and *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 191.

[2] *Ancient Petitions*, 18, 19.

[3] *Ibid.* 21, 22.

[4] *Cal. Close Rolls*, ii. 91.

[5] *Cours Royales*, 211–13; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iii. 375.

first results were to the liking of the islanders, who obtained all they desired. Otho, however, got a writ of *supersedeas*, on August 20, 1320, suspending the commissioners. Though on the complaint of the islanders in Parliament this writ was on October 6 recalled, a further inquiry was ordered. In the result it was found that Stonor and his colleagues had in error condemned Otho to pay great sums of money, and since their orders were to the King's disherison and to Otho's great loss their proceedings were annulled.[1] This was on July 30, 1321. A few days later the knights and jurats of Guernsey were ordered to render obedience to Gerard d'Oron, whom Otho had appointed as his deputy.[2] Gerard was a countryman, and kinsman, of Otho de Grandison, who had been long in the English service. As such he was not likely to be too favourable to the islanders, who stubbornly resisted him, and refused to obey the decree reversing the decisions of Stonor and Bourne.

On February 2, 1323, Gerard d'Oron and Robert Kellesye were appointed by the King to inquire and report as to the persons who were responsible for the continued disorder.[3] Otho de Grandison seems at the same time to have realised the serious character of the crisis. In spite of his great age—he was at least eighty-five—he journeyed across France to pay his only visit to the islands. On June 6 Gerard wrote to Henry de Clif that 'Monsieur de Grantson came to the Islands, to the Castle of Jersey, the first day of the month of June,' and now desired to consult him on the subject of the dispute with the Abbey of Mont S. Michel, touching the Priory of St. Clement in Jersey.[4] Otho de Grandison made a prolonged stay in the islands. In the following year Thomas de Estefeld, a brother-in-law of William de St. Rémy, complained that on October 6 'M. Otes de Grauntsoune and

[1] *Second Report*, 296–8; *Rot. Parl.* i. 378–9; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 9; *Cours Royales*, ii. 127, 213–9; *Ancient Petitions*, 61–2 (the document clearly relates to 1320).

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 8. For Gerard d'Oron, see p. 185, below.

[3] *Ibid.* iv. 235–6.

[4] Havet, xxxvii. 229, from Archives de la Manche, fonds du Mont S. Michel.

M. Gerard de Orens' had come to St. Peter Port, to a place called La Ville-au-Roi, and carried away his corn.[1] Not long afterwards Gerard d'Oron was entrusted by Edward II. with a mission to Burgundy and Savoy.[2] He left Guernsey for this purpose on December 23, 1323, and it is probable that Otho de Grandison took the opportunity to go home in his company.

Otho had so long done service with his subjects as a monstrous if distant ogre that he is not likely to have been made welcome when he came suddenly among them in the guise of a wrathful old man. His presence was probably not unconnected with the visit, in September 1323, of fresh justices—Henry Spigurnel, Henry de Clif, John de Ifeld, and William Denon—to review once more the proceedings of 1320. They sat during two months and annulled the decision of their predecessors by which the customs of the islands had been confirmed, as given in error, but without substituting any decision of their own; 'so that the said Community is in the same state as regards laws and customs as it was in, before the delivery of the judgment aforesaid."[3]

No sooner were Otho and the justices departed than the islanders put up a petition in Parliament in which they reviewed all the grievances of the past half-century. They alleged that Otho by his influence and by great bribes had defeated the wishes of the King, securing that all commissions of inquiry should be entrusted to his own ministers in defeasance of immemorial law, and procuring briefs in supersession of the royal orders. Frisingfield and Ditton, who were Otho's clerks, had neither tried nor decided their plaints. Spigurnel and his colleagues had been appointed by Otho's procurement, and had no thought save how they might turn all to his profit, and defeat the old laws. So they begged for a fresh inquiry, and ended with the bold assertion that

[1] *Ancient Petitions*, 33—on octave of St. Michael in the 17th year of Edward II.

[2] *Pipe Roll*, 17 Edward II.: see also pp. 185–7, 195, below.

[3] *Second Report*, 295–99; *Cours Royales*, 11, 127, 221–2.

'if the Justices did right to King and people the said Sir Otho would be expelled from the Islands.'[1]

Parliament simply remitted the petition to Chancery. But almost immediately afterwards, on August 4, 1324, John de Clyveden was appointed to be Keeper of the Islands during pleasure, as Otho de Grandison, who held them for life, had retired from them, and there was danger of their safe custody, especially from France.[2] The absence of Gerard d'Oron may have given a specious excuse, but it is a curious instance of the weakness of the English government under Edward II. that advantage should thus have been taken of the employment of the responsible officer in the King's service elsewhere. When, however, Clyveden came to the islands he found that Gerard d'Oron had already returned, and since he could in consequence do nothing for the King begged that he might be discharged.[3]

Some allowance must no doubt be made for the difficulties of Edward II., and the allegation of ill custody was perhaps not unwarranted. The appointment of Ralph Basset and John de Roche to be Keepers on July 25, 1326, 'because Otho de Grandison does not stay in the Islands, and has not made sufficient order against danger from France,'[4] might be due to Edward's fears lest the islands should fall into the hands of his enemies. But this will not explain the renewal of a commission to John de Roche by Edward III. on March 29, 1327.[5]

It is perhaps going too far to describe Otho's government of the Channel Islands as one long record of oppression.[6] The evils of an absentee governorship are indeed obvious enough. But constitutional troubles were more in evidence than individual wrongs. The islanders made the most of fancied privileges based on immemorial customs, which furnished a good basis for grievances, but turned out some-

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 416; *Ancient Petitions*, 30.
[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. v. 14, 21.
[3] *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 416.
[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. v. 302.
[5] *Ibid* Edw. III. i. 63.
[6] As M. Havet does.

what hazy when put to the test of proof. After Otho's death they thanked God, who had again put them under the King's lordship, and the King, who had sent them as Warden Sir John de Roche, who was so good a castle-keeper. But within a little their complaints began again. First it was of John de Roche, who was so unreasonable that he would not accept debased French money in payment for taxes. Then it was of the farmers, whom the King sent to represent him in place of a Warden appointed from the Knights of England like Otho de Grandison.[1] It was probably not without reason that Otho de Grandison had argued that the preservation of the royal rights was his first duty. When such questions were not involved he was not blind to the material interests of his subjects. After peace was concluded with France, in 1303, he wrote to the Chancellor in England, begging for orders to be given to the keepers of the ports 'to let my people of the Isles and their goods pass freely.'[2] Again, in August 1308, he obtained from Pope Clement an order forbidding the Bishop of Coutances to cite the islanders to appear before him beyond sea.[3] Still it must be admitted that the administration of the Channel Islands during these fifty years was an unfortunate experiment in the rule of dependencies, and reflects little credit either on Otho, or on the home government.

The latest reference to Otho de Grandison in connexion with the Channel Islands occurs on March 8, 1328.[4] He died less than a month later, on April 5, and was buried in accordance with his will in the cathedral at Lausanne, where his tomb with an effigy, attributed commonly to Otho III.,

[1] *Ancient Petitions*, 47–9, 55–9.

[2] *Ancient Correspondence*, xxxvi. 133. The letter is undated, but must belong to this time. See p. 186, below.

[3] *Cal. Papal Registers*, ii. 45; *Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 3165. In *Ancient Petitions*, 2439 (Record Office), Otho's attorneys represent the hardships and loss which the bishop's conduct caused to the islanders.

[4] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. i. 251. John de Roche was appointed keeper in place of Otho de Grandison, deceased, on June 4, 1328 (*ibid.* i. 301).

may still be seen.[1] He must have been at least ninety years of age, and had indeed fulfilled the destiny that was foretold for him. Apart from the legends which so soon gathered about his name, and the mystery which has so long obscured his renown, there is something of an epic quality in the story of his romantic career. Born a simple knight of Burgundy, his sound had gone out into all lands, and his fame unto the ends of the world. There was hardly a country of Christendom in the history of which he had not played his part. The mountains of Wales and the Marches of Scotland, the most southern lands of France and Italy, the islands of the West, and the shores of the distant East, all bore witness to his fame. Like another Ulysses, he returned after his long wanderings to spend a prosperous old age in the castle of his fathers.

> Much had he seen and known, cities of men,
> And manners, climates, councils, governments,
> Himself not least, but honoured of them all.

## V.—The Later Grandisons

Otho de Grandison was never married. His chief English heirs were his nephews, Peter and Otho. John de Grandison, the lately consecrated Bishop of Exeter, wrote in 1328 to the Bishop of Lausanne: 'The news of my uncle's death has stricken me to my inmost heart, for with him the crown of my head has fallen. The islands of Guernsey, which the noble King Edward of blessed memory granted to my uncle for life, should have remained to my two brothers for five years; but some defect has been discovered in the King's Court, which will, I fear, preclude their claim. I beg you to help my brother Otho in obtaining possession of our uncle's property in your diocese. And if there be anything of value belonging to his chapel, more particularly books of the English Use, pray reserve them for me, and send them hither

[1] *Soc. Suisse Romande*, Ser. II. ii., 153–61; *Register of John de Grandison*, 173–4. There had been a false report of his death in April 1318, as shown by grants then made; cf. *Cal. Charter Rolls*, iii. 407.

by the bearer of these presents.'[1] John's fears for his brothers' claim on the islands were realised. It was only after much trouble and a petition to Parliament that they at last obtained in compensation a grant of 500*l.* apiece.[2] Clearly the revenue which Otho de Grandison derived from his island lordship had been very substantial.

At Grandson Otho was succeeded by his nephew Peter, probably the eldest son of his brother of the same name. When at Paris in May 1303 he had negotiated for this nephew, then Sire de Belmont, a marriage with Blanche, daughter of Louis, the Baron of Vaud, and niece of Amadeus of Savoy. He contracted to make Peter heir to all his property outside England, and leave him his Castle of Grandson.[3] Peter II. of Grandson had by Blanche of Savoy two sons—Otho, who was Sire de Grandson in 1343, and William, Sire d'Aubonne and de Ste Croix, who was a famous soldier under Amadeus VI. of Savoy. William eventually succeeded to Grandson and died in 1389.[4] His son, Otho III., was the poet from whom Chaucer adapted his 'Complaint of Venus,' styling him:

Graunson, flour of hem that make in Fraunce.[5]

Otho III. fought for the English in France in 1372 and 1379, and paid a visit to this country in 1383–5, when he was involved in a dispute with his cousin the Earl of Salisbury.[6] He was one of the evangelists of the Order of the Passion instituted by Philip de Mézières, who calls him chamberlain of honour to Richard II. and John of Gaunt. When in 1392 he was charged with having procured the death by poison of Amadeus VII., he took refuge in England, and swore fealty

[1] *Register of John de Grandison*, 174–5.

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. iii. 35; *Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 111–12.

[3] Contract of Marriage ap. *Minutes of Evidence*, 172–4.

[4] *Suisse Romande*, xxvi. 250, 257; Verdeil, *Hist. de Vaud*, i. 218–30. On Peter and his sons see also Matile, *Mon. de l'Hist. de Neuchâtel*, i. 336, 418, ii. 1174.

[5] Chaucer, *Works*, i. 404, 562, ed. Skeat. See for a fuller account of Otho III. and his poetry *Romania*, xix. 237–59, 403–48, and *Suisse Romande*, Ser. II. ii. 162–200.

[6] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Rich. II. ii. 216, 556.

to Richard II., who gave him two grants of pension in June 1392 and November 1393.[1] After a while he went home to Vaud. There he was challenged to mortal combat by his accuser, Gerard d'Estavayer, whose wife he was alleged to have seduced. He was slain in the duel at Bourg, in Bresse, on August 7, 1397. All his lands in Vaud were forfeited, and his son William de Grandson withdrew to his estate at Pesne in Franche Comté, where his line continued but a little longer.[2] This is perhaps the William de Grandison who served under Henry V. in Normandy from 1416 to 1419.[3] At a later time the Castle of Grandson was one of the residences of the Bernese bailiffs in Vaud. About thirty years ago it was purchased by Baron Gustave de Blonay, whose ancestor, Amadeus de Blonay, married a daughter of Lambert III. de Grandson in 1080. The castle has since been judiciously restored, and is now in excellent preservation.[4]

Otho's youngest brother, William, made his permanent home in England. Before January 1287[5] he had married Sybil, daughter and coheiress of John de Tregos, of Lydiard in Wiltshire. At the partition of the estates in 1300 William and his wife received Lydiard, Burnham in Somerset, and Eton in Herefordshire.[6] In the last county he had other estates, at Stretton Grandison and Asperton, where he had licence to crenellate his house on May 3, 1292.[7] He was, as we have seen, his brother's lieutenant in North Wales; served in Gascony under Edmund of Lancaster in 1294, and

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Rich. II. v. 63, 342. For a present of a 'curser' from 'Otes Granson' to Henry of Lancaster in 1392, see Wylie, *Hist. of Henry IV.* iv. 163. See also Froissart, xiv. ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove.

[2] Verdeil, *Hist. de Vaud*, i. 252, 257–9, 263–5. The lines of La Sarraz and Champvent were already extinct. But the D'Yverdun family, which came from the same stock, lasted till the eighteenth century. (Read, *Historic Studies*, i. 83).

[3] *Forty-first Report of Dep. Keeper of Public Records*, pp. 707, 716, 723, 44*th Rep.* p. 589.

[4] Read, *Historic Studies*, i. 80–2.

[5] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III., iii. 105; *inspeximus* of Charter of January 21, 1287.

[6] *Minutes of Evidence*, 10, 11, 84–5; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I, iv. 477.

[7] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I., ii. 496.

under the Earl of Lincoln in 1296, and in the Scottish war; was present at the siege of Carlaverock; and was a person of sufficient importance to be summoned to Parliament as a baron on April 10, 1299. In 1322 his eldest son sided with Thomas of Lancaster, and his estates were taken into the King's hands, because he had failed to answer the royal summons. The family politics were naturally Lancastrian, for William de Grandison had begun his career in the household of Edmund Crouchback, and been his executor.[1] Nevertheless on March 18, 1322, all his lands were restored, since the King desired to show special favour to William de Grandison, who was so infirm that he could not travel without great danger to his body.[2] If William could not rival the green vigour of his elder brother, who in the following year journeyed from Grandson to Guernsey, he nearly equalled him in length of days. He must have been close on ninety years of age when he died, on June 27, 1335. His wife, who was a grand-niece of Thomas de Cantelupe, the saintly Bishop of Hereford, had died on September 21 in the previous year. They were both buried at Dore Abbey, of which they had been great benefactors.[3]

William and Sybil de Grandison had five sons and four daughters.[4] Peter de Grandison, who was returned as over forty years of age at his father's death, and must have been a good bit more, was a noble of no great distinction. He married Blanche, daughter of Roger Mortimer, before 1321,[5] but died without surviving issue on August 10, 1358.[6]

John, the second son, was the famous Bishop of Exeter, and founder of the College of St. Mary Ottery. Murimuth, who was a Canon of Exeter under him, is careful to describe him as 'son of the lord William de Grandison, brother of the lord Otho, that most famous knight from Burgundy in

[1] *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 387.
[2] *Ibid.* Edw. II. iii. 523, 641.
[3] *Register of John de Grandison*, 110.
[4] See *Tabula de Genealogia Joannis Grandisoni* ap. Leland, *Itinerary*, i. 237–8, ed. Toulmin Smith.
[5] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. iii. 552.
[6] *Minutes of Evidence*, 96.

the Empire.'[1] Of John no full account need here be given. The first mention of him is in a dispensation obtained for him by his uncle in November 1305, when he was about fourteen years of age.[2] He was consecrated Bishop of Exeter at Avignon on December 23, 1327, and died on July 26, 1369.[3]

Thomas, the third son, was provided to a canonry at Lincoln in 1305, when about thirteen. He died at the Papal Court before August 1317.[4]

William, the fourth son, was a canon of Salisbury, who died Archdeacon of Exeter in 1330.[5]

Otho, the youngest, was probably abroad with his uncle at Grandson from 1317 to 1320. He inherited his uncle's estates at Kemsing and Seal in Kent, besides other lands from his father at Dartford in the same county. There he lived the life of an ordinary country gentleman, serving on the commission of peace and in other like offices, and representing the county in Parliament from 1347 to 1357. He married Beatrix, daughter of Nicholas Malmayns, and died in October 1358. By his will he directed that he should be buried at St. Mary Ottery, and bequeathed his tenements at London, in the parishes of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, and St. Margaret Patins, for the maintenance of chantries there.[6] Thomas, his only son, succeeded his uncle as fourth baron in 1369, though he was never summoned. He married Margaret, sister of William de Caru (or Carew),[7] but died without issue in 1376. His widow survived till October 2, 1394.[8]

[1] Murimuth, *Chron.* 56 *n.* (Rolls Soc.). Compare Leland's *Tabula*: 'Hic erat filius Gul. Grandisoni de genere Imperatoris, qui frater fuit nobilissimi Dni. Othonis de Grandissono in Burgundia Diocesis Lausenensis ubi Castrum de Grandisono est situm firmis saxis.'

[2] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* ii. 5.

[3] For his Will, and for the Inquisition on his death, see *Minutes of Evidence*, 105–111.

[4] *Cal. Pap. Reg.* ii. 5, 152. [5] *Ibid.* ii. 101; Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 393.

[6] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. ix. 85, 206; *Minutes of Evidence*, 112; Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills in the Court of Husting*, ii. 10; Hasted, *His. of Kent*, i. 128, 231, 328; *Reg. John de Grandison*, 1226, 1236.

[7] Margaret de Grandison granted her manor of Burnham to some of her Carew relatives (*MSS. of Wells*, 454).

[8] *Minutes of Evidence*, 113–4.

With Thomas de Grandison the English male line of Grandison became extinct. But to one or other of the daughters of William de Grandison all our Kings since Edward IV., and many noble families, trace their descent.

Agnes was probably the eldest daughter,[1] for she was old enough to be married and have a son in 1306. Her husband, John de Northwood, son of the first baron of that name, died in 1317. Roger, her eldest son, succeeded his grandfather as second baron ; the title fell into abeyance in 1416.[2] Two other sons, John and Otho de Northwood, were successively Archdeacons of Exeter and Totnes under their uncle. A fourth son, William, was a Knight Hospitaller. Agnes de Northwood had a grant of Lydiard Tregoze from her father for life. She died in 1348. Her undivided third of her father's barony is now held by Sir Anchitell Ashburnham-Clement, who is thus the senior and principal co-heir of Grandison.[3] None of the other heirs can claim a larger representation than a twelfth.

Mabilia, the second daughter, married John de Pateshull of Bletsho ; she was foundress of the Grey Friars house at Bedford, where she was buried.[4] Her only son, William, died without issue in 1368, leaving as his co-heiresses four sisters.[5] Sybil, the eldest, who was married to Roger Beauchamp, inherited Bletsho and Cayshoe from her brother, and held Lydiard Tregoze by grant from her uncle, Peter de Grandison. Her great-grand-daughter, Margaret Beauchamp, married (1) Oliver St. John (*d.* 1437), and (2) John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. By her second husband Margaret Beauchamp was mother of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, and ancestress of the royal house of Tudor. Oliver St. John's descendants split into two lines at Bletsho and Lydiard Tregoze. Oliver, head of the elder line, was created Baron St. John of Bletsho in 1558, a title which still survives.

[1] So she comes first on the *Tabula*, ap. Leland, *Itinerary*, i. 237.
[2] No summons was issued after the death of the third baron in 1378.
[3] *Minutes of Evidence*, 397–443.
[4] Leland, *Itinerary*, iv. 23.
[5] *Minutes of Evidence*, 121.

His contemporary Nicholas St. John (*d.* 1589) of Lydiard Tregoze, had two sons, John and Oliver. Oliver, the second, was deputy of Ireland, and created Viscount Grandison of Limerick in the Irish peerage in 1621. By a special remainder this title passed to his grand-nephew, William, son of Sir Edward Villiers by Barbara, daughter of Sir John St. John. The second Viscount Grandison was father of the notorious Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland. John, fifth Viscount (whose sister was mother of the elder William Pitt) was created Earl Grandison in 1721, a title which became extinct at his death, in 1766. The Irish Viscounty then passed to his cousin, the Earl of Jersey, and thus by a strange accident Jersey and Grandison were once more united. From the male line of Lydiard Tregoze descended Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. From the same stock sprang Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, and through him Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, whose adventurous and varied career as soldier, sailor, and diplomatist suggests comparison with that of Otho de Grandison.

The other three daughters of Mabilia and John Pateshull were: Matilda, married William de Fauconberg, whence the Barons of that title; Alice, married Thomas Wake of Blisworth, whose line is believed to be extinct; and Katherine married Robert de Tudenham, whence Sir Thomas Tuddenham, who was executed in 1462. Thomas Tuddenham's sister Margaret married Edward Bedingfield, whose descendant, Sir Henry Bedingfield, claimed the barony of Grandison in 1854, but was found to be heir of only one twelfth, the other co-heirs being legion.[1]

The third daughter of William de Grandison was Matilda, who was prioress of Acornbury in Herefordshire.[2]

The fourth daughter of William de Grandison was Katherine, probably the youngest of the family, and

[1] They include the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, the Earls of Loudon and St. German's, the Countesses of Romney, Powis, and Yarborough, and Lord Grey de Ruthyn. See Debrett, *Peerage*, s.v.

[2] Leland, *Itinerary*, i. 237-8; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, i. B. 159.

perhaps younger than her husband, William de Montacute (1301–1344), whom she married about 1327. William de Montacute was created Earl of Salisbury, and Katherine Grandison is the Countess who was the legendary heroine of the Order of the Garter; if the story is ill-founded there was nothing in her age to have made it impossible. Alice, only daughter of Thomas, last Montacute Earl of Salisbury, who was killed at Orleans in 1429, was mother of Warwick, the King-maker. It was presumably as part of her inheritance that Warwick held the manor of Grandisons at Wilmington in Kent, which had belonged to Sir Otho de Grandison. This estate descended to Warwick's granddaughter, Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, on whose execution in 1541 it was forfeited to the Crown.[1] Katherine Grandison's third daughter, Philippa, married Roger Mortimer, second Earl of March, and was by him ancestress of the royal house of York.[2]

The original Grandison arms were: Paly of six, argent and azure, on a bend gules three escallopes or. These appear to be the arms shown on a seal of Otho de Grandison in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 11582; though M. Havet thought the charges on the bend rather resembled 'martlets.' The arms used by Bishop John de Grandison and some others of the English family were: Paly of six, argent and azure, on a bend gules three eagles displayed or. In the fourteenth century the foreign branch used as crest, a bell, with the punning motto 'A petite cloche, grand son.'[3]

[1] Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, i. 231–2.

[2] On the history of William de Grandison's descendants see the lengthy *Minutes of Evidence concerning the Barony of Grandison*, with many original documents. The judgment of the House of Lords in 1858 is recited by Burke, *Extinct Peerage*. For the Northwood line see also *Archaeologia Cantiana*, ii. 9–42, Hasted, *History of Kent*, ii. 456, 625, and *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser., x. 442. A Grandison appears in the *Battle Abbey Roll*; this alone would prove the late date and unauthentic character of that record.

[3] M. Havet ap. *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xxvii. 201; *Mémoires et documents*, Soc. de l'Hist. de Genève, vii. 40–41; Bedford, *Blazon of Episcopacy*; Papworth, *Ordinary of British Armorials*. The bishop may have adopted 'eagles' in the place of 'escallopes' on the ground of his supposed imperial descent.

## VI.—His Countrymen and Kinsfolk

Otho de Grandison introduced so many of his countrymen and kinsfolk to the English service that some account of the chief of them is necessary to the completion of his history.

Bonvillars or Bono Villario, Henry de, from Bonvillars near Grandson, and possibly an uncle of John and William. He was a Cluniac monk, and for a short time Prior of Bermondsey, previous to his appointment as Henry de Bono Villar to be Prior of Wenlock on September 10, 1284 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 192). He was one of Otho de Grandison's attornies in 1290 and 1294, and received delivery of the Channel Islands on Otho's behalf from Nicholas de Cheny in 1298. In the following year he was Otho's lieutenant in the islands, and a justice itinerant for the King. There is mention of him in 1302 as Henry le Beuelard, Prior of Wenlock (*ibid.* iv. 94, 185), and as Henry Beuilar in 1303 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, v. 72). His name occurs for the last time in 1315, when he had protection as going beyond sea. His successor at Wenlock was appointed on February 26, 1319 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls.* Edw. I. ii. 362, 424, 481, iii. 342, 436; Edw. II. i. 59, 139, ii. 273; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 73; *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xxvii. 204, 227).

Bonvillars or Bono Villario, John de, a nephew of Otho de Grandison, who in 1305 obtained for him a dispensation to hold the living of Middleton, Yorkshire, besides benefices in the diocese of Lausanne. He was an attorney in England for Gerard d'Oron in March 1318, and an executor of Otho de Grandison's will, in which capacity he is mentioned in 1334 (*Cal. Papal Registers*, ii. 59; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. ii. 283, iii. 118; Edw. III. iii. 35).

Bonvillars or Bono Villario, Otto de, was a justice in the Channel Islands under Otho de Grandison in 1278. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 296).

Bonvillars or Bono Villario, William de, another nephew of Otho de Grandison, canon of Lausanne in 1308,

and prebendary of Coringham, Lincoln, 1324–6 (*Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 3097; *Cal. Pat. Rolls.* Edw. II. v. 187; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 134).

CHANVENT, CHAUVENT, or CHAUMPVENT, JOHN de; *see* under Chanvent, Peter.

CHANVENT, OTHO de, a cousin of Otho de Grandison, perhaps a son of his uncle, Henry de Chanvent; Chauvent or Champvent is about four miles from Grandson. Was dean of Seliriac, Geneva, in 1289, had canonries at Maurienne and Rheims and the living of Havant in England. Was in England in February 1302, when he had letters of attorney as going over sea with Otho de Grandison. Was Bishop of Lausanne 1310–12 (*Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 508; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 114, 123; *Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 2840, 2933–4).

CHANVENT or CHAUMPVENT, PETER de. Was in England as 'vallettus Regis' in 1254 (*Rôles Gascons*, i. 3458). Probably a cousin of Otho de Grandison. Is mentioned in 1273, and was steward or seneschal of the King's household in 1283 and for many years after. Served Edward I. in Gascony in 1286–89, in Scotland in 1291, and in Flanders in 1297. He died about 1303, leaving, by his wife Agnes, a son, John, then over thirty years of age. John de Chanvent married Joan, daughter of Philip Marmion, had lands in Somerset, Cambridgeshire, and Suffolk, and is mentioned as late as 1321 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 89, 245, 468, iii. 302, iv. 55; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 31, 354, iii. 317; Edw. II. i. 572, ii. 584, iii. 335; *Rôles Gascons*, 1189, 3415; *Calendarium Genealogicum*, 642; *Year Books*, vol. iv. pp. 128, 129 (Selden Soc.).

CHANVENT or CHAMPVENT, WILLIAM de, was presented by Henry III. to the living of Filgrave, Bucks, in 1257 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247–58, p. 603), and was Dean of St. Martin le Grand from 1262 to 1274, sub-Dean of York in 1266, and Bishop of Lausanne from 1274 to 1301 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 49; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi. 1323; Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii. 128; *Gallia Christiana*, xv. 362).

COSSENAY, JAMES de, monk at Wenlock in 1292, as also

was Conon de Cossenay in 1308 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 481 ; Edw. II. i. 66). From Cossonay in Vaud.

CUSANCIA, a numerous family avowedly of Burgundian origin (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. v. 59), and obviously connected, whether by blood or friendship, with the Grandisons. From Cusance (dept. Doubes) in the County of Burgundy.

CUSANCIA, GERARD de, attorney for his brother Peter in 1299, in the service of Queen Margaret in 1308, and with John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, in Gascony in 1313. Parson of Wermynton, Lincoln, on March 12, 1313, of Wyberton in 1316, and of Bassingbourn, Cambridge, before 1323. Prebendary of Willesden, St. Paul's, London, before 1313. Attorney for Gerard d'Oron in 1318, and for William de Bono Villario in 1325. Last mentioned in 1327. Was uncle of William de Cusancia, Dean of St. Martin le Grand. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I., iii. 441 ; Edw. II. i. 34, 556, 576, ii. 350, iii. 118, iv. 244, v. 30, 39, 187 ; Edw. iii., i. 24 ; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. II. i. 562.)

CUSANCIA, JAMES de, a Cluniac monk of Lewes ; made Prior of Prittlewell, Essex, on December 1, 1316, and still held the priory in 1341. Was a brother of William de Cusancia (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. ii. 570, iii. 261, v. 30 ; Edw. III. v. 239).

CUSANCIA, JAMES de, prior of St. Mary, Thetford, from 1338 to 1355 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. iv. 91, v. 239, viii. 568 ; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 146.)

CUSANCIA, JOHN de, attorney for Peter de Cusancia in 1294, for Otho de Chanvent in 1302, and for the Prior of Prittlewell in 1305 ; parson of Rayleigh, Essex, in 1294 (*Rôles Gascons*, 2671 ; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 95, iv. 114, 321). Probably a different person from John, brother of William de Cusancia, who was Prior of Bermondsey from 1323 to 1359 (*ibid.* Edw. II. iv. 407, v. 30 ; *Annales Monastici*, iii. 471, 476).

CUSANCIA, PETER de, Knight, served in Gascony under William de Grandison in 1294, and in 1296 with Edmund of Lancaster. Attorney for Otho de Grandison in Ireland in

1299. Had lands in Berks, Bucks, Hereford, Somerset and Wilts, and at Downampney, Gloucestershire ; the last were acquired in 1312. His son William, of Wyke and Downampney, died before January 1340, leaving a son, Peter, aged fifteen. (*Rôles Gascons*, 2516, 4203 ; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 437 ; Edward III. vii. 29 ; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 502, iv. 8 ; Edw. II. i. 562–3).

CUSANCIA, REGINALD de, parson of Eckington, Sussex, in 1303, in service of Queen Margaret in 1308, and of the Earl of Richmond in Gascony in 1313, parson of Fouldon in 1323, prebendary of Coringham, Lincoln, 1326 to 1335 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 118 ; Edw. II. i. 34, 576, iv. 244 v. 39 ; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 134).

CUSANCIA, WILLIAM de, born in Burgundy, was in the service of Queen Margaret in 1308, parson of North Repps in 1317, canon of Ripon, 1320–34 ; prebendary of West Thurrock, 1320, and of St. Wolfram, Abbeville, 1333–4, of Wenlakesbarn, at St. Paul's, 1338, of Sleaford, Lincoln, 1340 ; Dean of St. Martin le Grand, June 19, 1349, and Archdeacon of Exeter, February 15, 1350. He also held the livings of Lyming, Kent, in 1348, and Bredon, Worcestershire, in 1349 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. i. 34, ii. 614, iii. 417, 430 ; Edw. III. ii. 469, 536, iv. 47, v. 69, viii. 146, 305, 401, 462). William de Cusancia had a long official career : he was Clerk of the Great Wardrobe in 1321–2 ; treasurer for Edward III. when Earl of Chester from 1323 to 1325 ; Keeper of the King's Wardrobe 1340–41 ; and treasurer of the Exchequer from October 28, 1341, to April 10, 1344. He was also employed in some minor diplomatic and judicial services. He died early in 1362. Besides the relatives already named he had a brother, Peter, who was parson of South Repps in 1323, a younger brother also called William, and a kinsman, Hugh de Cusancia (*ibid.* Edw. II. iii. 504, iv. 41, 189, 302, v. 30, 39 ; Edw. III. ii. 523, iii. 41, 321, 566, iv. 543, v. 265–9, 298 vi. 235, vii. 268).

ESTAVAYER, PETER d', from Estavayer on the east shore of the Lake of Neuchâtel. In English records Staneye

or Estaney. He was a nephew of Otho de Grandison, and first appears as one of the King's yeomen in 1280–82. On July 3, 1220, his uncle gave him Okonagh and Tipperary for life. He went with Otho to Acre, and does not seem to have returned to England. In 1298 Peter de Stratelinges, and in 1303 Perrotus de Staniaco and William de Gyes were attornies for him. He may be the Pierre d'Estavayer, who took part in the Vaudois war of 1295. The castle of Estavayer is one of the finest in the district. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 359, 402, 460, ii. 22, 372, 374, iii. 337, iv. 118; *Suisse Romande*, v. 67.)

ESTAVAYER, WILLIAM d', a brother of Peter. In English records Estanie, Estanayaco, Estiniaco, Estainaceo. He first appears as one of the King's clerks on February 16, 1283, when Edward gave him a prebend at St. Wolfram, Abbeville. In 1289 Otho de Grandison obtained for him the reservation of a canonry at Lincoln, though he already held canonries and prebends at Wells and St. Maurice, Llangadok, and the churches of Grinstead, Sussex, and of Llampadarnfawr. He accordingly held the prebend of Coringham, Lincoln, from 1291 to 1324. In 1290 Nicholas IV. made him Archdeacon of Lincoln, an office which he exchanged on September 13, 1319, with John de Stratford for the Rectory of Stratford-on-Avon. He was abroad in June 1306, and from that time had periodical letters of protection as beyond seas down to 1323. In 1316, when he is described as William de Estavayé, Archdeacon of Lincoln, he sold Surpierre (a place about six miles south of Estavayer) to Otho de Grandison. He probably died in 1324, for in that year William de Bono Villario received the prebend of Coringham (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 357, iii. 268, iv. 530; Edw. II. iv. 272; *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 505, 508, ii. 45; *Rôles Gascons*, 5051–2; Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* ii. 44, 134; *Suisse Romande*, v. 85).

ESTRATELINGES: *see* STRATELINGES.

GOFYN or GOUSYN, JOHN de, of Grandson, attorney for Gerard de Wyppayns in 1300, and for Otho de Grandison of Mancetter in 1304 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 509, iv. 217).

GRANDISON, GERARD de, nephew of Otho de Grandison, received the prebend of Apesthorpe and 50 marks a year from Archbishop Wickwaine of York in 1283. Occurs in connexion with Peter de Chanvent in 1297 (*Fasti Eboracenses*, 324; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 20).

GRANDISON, HENRY de, born about 1242, brother of Otho de Grandison, was parson of Greystoke, Cumberland, from 1276 to 1285 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 143; *Close Rolls*, ii. 312). He was at the Roman Curia in June 1282, when he sent Edward I. news of the Sicilian Vespers; in the same letter he excused John of Pontisara for his share in conveying letters from Archbishop Peckham to some of the cardinals, in which the archbishop had made derogatory reference to the English King (*see above*, p. 132). Henry de Grandison was still at Rome two years later, when Peckham wrote to the Bishop of Tusculum asking him to deny the injurious reports which Grandison had circulated about these letters (*Registrum*, ii. 714). Grandison held a canonry at Wells in 1284 (*Hist. MSS. Dean and Chapter of Wells*, 34, Hist. MSS. Commission). He succeeded his brother Gerard as Bishop of Verdun and died in 1286. (*Gallia Christiana*, xiii. 1217.) Probably he was not consecrated for some time after Gerard's death.

GRANDISON, JOHN de, attorney for Otho de Chauvent in 1303, probably a brother of Gerard, Otho and Theobald. Perhaps the John de Grandison, who was prebendary of Heydour-cum-Walton, Lincoln, in 1317, and is said to have died in 1328 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 114; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 155).

GRANDISON, OTHO de, nephew of Sir Otho de Grandison, presented to living of 'Mamcestre' (Mancetter, Warwickshire) on September 27, 1299, a clerk at Cambridge in 1301. On March 4, 1301, his uncle obtained for him a canonry at York, though he already held canonries at Lausanne and Autun, and the churches of Mamcestre, Wilquinton (probably Wilmington, Sussex) and Pickhill, Yorkshire, on condition that he resigned the two last. Left England in 1304, was

Bishop of Toul in 1306, and of Basle from 1306 to 1309. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 440, 629, iv. 217; *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 594).

GRANDISON, PETER de, clerk, in 1337 had letters of attorney in Ireland; probably one of the foreign branch of the family (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. iii. 535).

GRANDISON, THEOBALD de, nephew of Sir Otho de Grandison, and brother of Peter, Sire de Belmont. He received a Bursal prebend at Wells in June 1299. (*MSS. Dean and Chapter of Wells*, 159.) By his uncle's influence provided to a canonry at Lincoln on March 4, 1301, though he held canonries at Geneva and Wells, and the church of Eckington, Sussex. Resigned Eckington and went over sea in 1303. Acquired the manor of Morton, Devon, from Gerard d'Oron, and sold it in 1310 to Hugh de Courtenay. Attorney for Otho de Grandison in Ireland in 1325. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 37, 117; Edw. II. i. 212, v. 192; *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 579; Matile, *Mon. de l'Hist. de Neuchâtel*, i. 336).

GRANDISON, WALTER de, had letters of attorney in Ireland in 1327; probably one of the foreign branch. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. i. 184).

ORON, or ORONS, GERARD d', appears in English records as Oram, Dorum, Dorme, Doronis or de Orons. M. Havet thought his name was Derous. But the point is settled by Gerard's reference in his letter to Hugh Despenser to 'ma maison Dorons, qui est trois lees pres de Losanne,' which clearly indicates Oron-le-Château about ten miles north-east of Lausanne. He was a nephew of Otho de Grandison, and may be the Gerard, son of Rodolph, Seigneur de Orons, who sold Concise to him in 1282 (*Minutes of Evidence*, 170). Another of Otho's nephews, Pierre d'Orons, was treasurer of Lausanne in 1305 (*Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 22) and Bishop of Lausanne from 1313 to 1323. The first mention of Gerard in England is in July 1290, when Otho de Grandison gave his nephew Gerard de Orons [1] the reversion of Estremoye and

[1] The *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (Edward I. ii. 372) reads 'Crous'; but compare *ibid.* iii. 245.

Otheny on his Irish estate. This interest Gerard in 1304 exchanged with Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, for the manor of Morton, Devon. Then and for many years afterwards he was a yeoman in the royal household; on June 5, 1317, Edward II. granted him in reward for his good service to himself and to his father the reversion for life of Ditton Camoys, and Shenley, of which Otho de Grandison had a life tenure. Gerard's name occurs frequently in connexion with those of his countrymen, John de Chanvent, Gerard de Cusancia, and Gerard and Eudric de Wyppayns. He was deputy for his uncle in the Channel Islands in 1321–23, and 1324–25. In the Pipe Roll for 17 Edward II. there is a 'compotus Gerardi de Oroms, militis,' going on the King's business to Savoy, Burgundy, and Alemannia, from the time when he left Guernsey on December 23, in the seventeenth year, till his return to England on July 21 following, 211 days at 5*s.* a day, making 52*l.* 15*s.* His business was no doubt to hire men for Edward's service, as shown in the letter which he wrote to Hugh Despencer from Chambéry under date March 9. This should fix the date as from December 1323 to July 1324. Gerard was certainly in the Islands with his uncle in June to December 1323 (see p. 167, above), and apparently was absent immediately before the appointment of John de Clyveden in August 1324. But according to the Patent Rolls he had protection in May 1324, for six months, as going to Scotland to treat for the ransom of John of Brittany, and on June 12 of that year was going beyond seas in the king's service, while on May 27, 1325, he is said to be beyond seas on the king's service. On May 25, 1328, after his uncle's death the grant of Ditton and Shenley was confirmed to him at the request of Queen Isabella. In 1328–9 he was beyond seas in the king's service. From December 22, 1330, to October 24, 1331, he was Seneschal of Ponthieu and Monstreuil. The last mention of him in English records is as receiving letters of protection in April 1334. He probably died soon after, for a little later John de Pulteney was in possession of Ditton and Shenley. There are two

letters from Gerard in *Ancient Correspondence*, viz. xxvi. 32 to John de Langton, and lviii. 11 (see below) to Hugh Despenser. His letter of June 6, 1323, to Henry Clif is printed in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xxxvii. 229. (See *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 372, iii. 383, 583, iv. 26, 102, 139, 208, 245, 392, 396, 447; Edw. II. i. 79, ii. 656, iii. 118, 242, 396, 419, 559, iv. 220, 235, 339, 411, 422, 428, v. 123; Edw. III. i. 5, 300, 302, 328, 452, ii. 34, 168, 214, iii. 529; and *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 419. For some account of the Seigneurs d'Oron see Meredith Read, *Historic Studies in Vaud*, i. 414-16, 450–52).

SANCTO SIMPHORIANO, PETER de, a monk, beyond seas with Otho de Grandison on the king's service in 1297 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 289). From St. Saphorin near Lausanne.

STRATELINGES, STRADELINGES, or ESTRATELINGES, Sir JOHN de, a nephew of Otho de Grandison, who granted him the reversion of Okonagh and Tipperary in 1290. He died in January 1293. He was also called Rousselet (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 372, iv. 116; *Close Rolls*, iii. 146, 309.)

STRATELINGES, Sir PETER de, attorney for Peter d'Estavayer or Staneye in 1298 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 337.) Perhaps from Strättligen, near Thun.

WYPPAYNS, EUDRIC de, nephew of Otho de Grandison, attorney in England for Aymo de Quarto, provost of Lausanne in 1294; parson of 'Wyrkyngton' in 1303. It is not clear what place is meant by 'Wyrkyngton'; it is called 'Vyrkinthone' in the letter to John Langton on p. 193, below. That letter makes it likely that the place was in the diocese of Chichester; if so, it was probably identical with 'Wilquinton' (Wilmington, Sussex) which Otho de Grandison of Mancetter resigned in 1303 (see p. 184, above). On the other hand, Sir Otho de Grandison speaks of Eudric as 'en mon servise en l'eglise de Vyrkinthone'; this rather suggests Wilmington in Kent (see p. 178, above). Eudric is last mentioned in 1312, when he was beyond seas, and Gerard de Wyspayns (probably a nephew) was his attorney. Otho de Grandison

wrote on Eudric's behalf to John de Langton in 1309. Eudric and his brothers came from Vuippens or Wippingen in canton Freiburg (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 99, iv. 102, 139, 245, 392; Edw. II. i. 411; *Ancient Correspondence*, xxxv. 59, see p. 68, below).

WYPPAYNS, GERARD de, brother of Eudric and Peter, and nephew of Otho de Grandison. Parson of Greystoke in 1285, prebendary of Strensall, York, in 1288, student at Orleans in 1290, archdeacon of Richmond 1290–1302. Also held living of Waddington, Lincoln, with a prebend at Lincoln before 1289. Going beyond seas in 1294, when Henry, prior of Wenlock, was his attorney. Proctor at Rome for Edward I. from May 15, 1300, to June 23, 1301. In August 1301 Edward thanked the Pope for his munificence at the hands of Gerard de Wypeins. Again employed in negotiations at the Papal Curia from November 1301 to March 1302. Bishop of Lausanne from 1302 to 1309, and of Bâle from 1309 till his death in 1325. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 354, iii. 98, 607, 617, iv. 206; *Cal. Close Rolls*, ii. 312; iv. 392, 580; *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 505, 507; *Suisse Romande*, xxxvi. 388; *Gallia Christiana*, xv. 364, 474.)

WYPPAYNS, PETER de, brother of Eudric and Gerard, nephew of Otho de Grandison, who granted him Estremoye in 1290. Went with Otho to Acre, and probably died there. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 372, 376.)

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## VII. APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

### (1.)

### EDWARD I. TO OTHO DE GRANDISON.

MARCH 11, 1279.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xiii. 51.

[See on this letter p. 131, above.]

Edwardus, dei gratia Rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, et dux Aquitannie, dilecto et fideli suo Otoni de Grandisono salutem. Scripsit nobilis vir egregius et amicus noster karissimus, Comes Burgundie, quod inter ipsum et vos de filia sua vobis matrimonio

copulanda habita sunt diebus istis colloquia et tractatus. Set quia vestrum sicut proprium commodum et honorem cupimus et optamus, nollemus, quantum in nobis est, quod ibi vel alibi nisi in nostra presencia, vel saltem quousque vobiscum super hiis et aliis loqueremur, aliquam duceretis in uxorem : ut negocium sub illa honorificencia, quam vellemus et que decet statum vestrum, per nostram presenciam honorabilius posset et sollempnius expediri ; verumptamen considerantes quod voluntates contrahencium vincere solent in huiusmodi voluntates aliorum, volumus et assentimus, quod si contractus ille vobis cordi sit, et vir nobilis et dilectus noster Otto de Burgundia, et alii consanguinei ac ceteri zelatores honoris vestri id ad vestrum profectum et honoris titulum cedere videant et id vobis consulant cum effectu, tunc premissa, iuxta cor vestrum et ipsorum consilia et secundum ordinaciones et tractatus inter predictum Comitem et vos inde habitos vel habendos, fini debito mancipentur, prout statui vestro congruit et fore videritis, facienda. Et hoc ipsum eidem Comiti per nostras litteras respondemus. Teste me ipso apud Wodestoke xj die Martii, anno regni nostri septimo.

(2.)

## RICHARD GUYDECHON to OTHO DE GRANDISON.

1279 *or* 1281.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxx. 101.

[Richard Guydechon, or Guidicionis, was the chief representative in England of the Society of the Ricardi of Lucca, who had an extensive banking and commercial business in this country between 1275 and 1290 (see numerous references in Calendars of Close and Patent Rolls). They had charge of the custom of wool as early as 1277, and in December 1279 their accounts were audited before Robert Burnell, Otho de Grandison, and Antony Bek. In July 1280, the Ricardi advanced the money for the expenses of Grandison's mission to Rome (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 354, 387). Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Chancellor, is L'esveske of this letter. 'Sire Antoine' is no doubt Antony Bek, who was elected Bishop of Durham in July 1283. Both Bek and Kirkby (who was afterwards Bishop of Ely) were officials of the royal chancery. St. Botolph's Fair at Boston was held in August. Since Grandison was clearly in England, the date of this letter can thus be fixed for the autumn of either 1279 or 1281 ; cf. pp. 131–2, above.]

A lor tres chier seignor mon sire Otte de Grancon, Richart Guydechon e ses compaignons saluz. Sachiez, sire, que le Abbe de Meaus nos a fet tres grant faussine e desloiaute, que a la Saint Botouf out j. an achatames de lui vj$^{xx}$ sacs de laine de toilette,

selonc que est contenu en j. cirograf entre nos e lui, e devions estre paiez a ceste Saint Botouf, qui est passez, de quoi il ne a nient fet. E nos porchacames une lettre nostre seignor le Roi al vesconte de Everwik, quil attachast les biens le dit Abbe por ceo quil sont en son conte, e attachez en sont bien tant que a la value de ceo quil nos doit e des damages receus. Por quoi nos vos prions que vos avisez mon sire Antoine, e nostre chier seignor Lesueske, e sire Johan de Kyrkeby de ceste chose, que se le Abbe viegne a la cort ou soit venu por porchacer delivrance de ses biens, que il lui en parlent en maniere quil soit tenu por fol e que il se haste a fere nostre gre. E se vos puissez porchacer une lettre nostre seignor le Roi al vesconte de Everwik que des biens le Abbe quil a attache face vendre tant que a la somme de nostre dette, ceo serroit bon por nos. E que Lesveske de Ba, e vos, e sire Antoine envoiez lettres al vesconte, que de cette besoigne se porte vigreusement e bien, einsi que vos lui sachez gre, e que nos aions le nostre ou ceo que les laines valurent a Saint Botouf, car nos ne demandons autre chose que raison e droiture. E les lettres que vos porchacerez dou Roi, e les lettres Lesveske, e de vos, e de sire Antoine, vos prions que vos nos envoiez. E nos les envoierons a nostre compaignon a Everwike. Endroit de la maison que entre vos e Richart en parlastes, sofrez vos ent tant que a vostre venue a Londres, de ceste chose en fetes tant come par vostre compaignie. E a dieu, sire, qui vos gart.

## (3.)

## WILLIAM DE GRANDISON TO —— ?

### 1284 ?

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxx. 92.

[William Sikun (Chicoun or Cygoune) was Constable of Conway Castle from 1284 to 1293 ; Morris, *English Wars of Edward I.* pp. 200, 219. This letter was apparently written in the first year.]

A son tres chier e tres ame seignur, le sien Guillame de Grançon toute reverence e honeur. Comme monseignur mon frere me ait mandez par sa lettre, qe ie face allouer a mons. Guillame de Cykoun, ce qe il a mis en toutes maneres d'ouvraignes en chastel d'Aberkoneway, e en garder les prisons, vous faz ie assavoir qe ie ai vehai ses roulles e ses ouvraignes e les tesmoin a bons e a loiaux, e au prou nostre seignur le Rois. Pour quei ie vous pri cherement qe vous en vueillez tant faire qe le chevalier n'en soit perdenz ne qe l'on nen neit peche de lui. E einsi comme vous savez [qe il fait

a faire, tant en facez chier sire qe ie vous en soie plus tenuz. Notre seignur vous ait en sa garde. Donee a Alinton le vendredi prochein apres la Goule d'aoust. E sachiez sire qe ie vous en pri si ateignanement, pour ce qe mon seignur mon frere a ce qe ie enteng vous en pri, e pour ce qe le chevalier est des noz.

(4.)

## THOMAS SALEKYN TO OTHO DE GRANDISON.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxxi. 5.

[The Salekyn family were engaged in business as boatmen at Dover. In *Exchequer* (K.R.) *Accounts*, 308 (17), Christina, 'que fuit uxor Willelmi Salekyn de Douorr,' accounts for xxvj*s.* viij*d.* paid to her husband, and John Salekyn for 10*l.* paid for the crossing of the Cardinals in August 1295. A Thomas Salkin was a member of the 'Company of fferschip' (the boatmen's guild) at Dover in 1312 (Statham, *Dover Charters*, p. 35). The following letter has no sufficient indication of date. William de Orlaveston (Orleston) was surrogate for Stephen de Pencestre, Constable of Dover in 1282 (Statham, *Hist. Dover*, 355). His name does not appear in the list of known bailiffs ap. *Dover Charters*, p. 471.]

A sun tres cher seignur, e si le plest amy, Sire Otes de Gransun, le seon marener Thomas Salekyn de Douere saluz, e quant ke il poit de honur e de seruise a tuz iurs. Sachez, sire, ke ieo ai fet leuer vne mesun . . . la vile de Douere, ou ieo enteng ke ieo la porray certeynement leuer com sur mon soil propre, e sir [Willame] de Orlauestune, Baillif de la Ville, par enticement de aukune gentz e pur mey greuer dit ke l[auant]dite mesun esta sur le soil le Rey, e par tant me desturbe ke ieo ne pois la mesun parfere a mon profit. De quey ieo vus pri, cher sire, par deu e pur quant ke ieo porrai fere de seruise a vus ue a voz, ke en ceste besoigne me voillez estre seignur e amy si com souent avez este, nostre merci. E me voillez fere auer vn Bref le Rey a prudeshommes del Vynne, chevalers, ou autres, ke la place seit vewe, e si la mesun soit leuee al damage le Rey ieo le amenderai, si com vus e les autres prudeshommes du conseil voderez ordener, e si nun ke lauantdit sire Willame ne me desturbe ne autre a parfere lauantdite mesun a mon profit. Cher sire, en ceste chose, si vus plest, uostre amitie e uostre aide me uoillez graunter, e ieo a tuz jurs serai uostre seriant a fere ceo ke vus comanderez. A deu, sire, seez vus comande, ke vus gard e vus dont bone uie e longe.

*Endorsed.* Otes de Gransun par le seon Thom. Salekyn de Douere.

(5.)

## WILLIAM DE GRANDISON to JOHN DE LANGTON.

1294–5.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxvi. 35.

[This letter was probably written in 1294–5, when the Channel Islands were in danger from France, and William de Grandison, as his brother's attorney, was responsible for their garrisoning. Langton was then Chancellor.]

A sun tres cher ami, si vous plest, a sire John de Langeton, le seon Guill. de Granson saluz e bon amor. Come par le commaundement nostre seignur le Roy enueyons gens a armes, e cheuals, e arbalestes a ses yles de Gernes. e Gers., je vous pri ke au portour de ceste lettre faiez auer letre de passage, si come vos verrez ke a feyre seit &c.

(6.)

## OTHO DE GRANDISON to THE CHANCELLOR.

1303?

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxxvi. 133.

[The date is probably June 1303, after the conclusion of the peace with France. The Chancellor will therefore be William de Greenfield.]

Sire, mandez moy se vous auez mande aus pors qui les chouses des ij Royames soient comunes, si come il a este ordene, et veullez mander aus gardeyns des pors & aus ballifs que eus leyssent passer ma gent des ysles et leur chouses franchement.

*Endorsed*: Au Chancelier. O. de Granson.

(7.)

## OTHO DE GRANDISON to JOHN DE LANGTON.

January 16, 1309.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxxv. 59.

[Since Langton is described as Bishop of Chichester and Chancellor the date must be January 1308 or 1309. 'Espalli' is no doubt Epailly, one of the houses of the Templars granted to Otho de Grandison by Clement V. in August 1308 (see p. 160, above). This fixes the date for 1309. On Eudric de Wyppayns see p. 187, above.]

A reverent pere en dieu et son chier seignur et amy, mon seignur Jehan par la grace de Dieu, Evesque de Cycestre, Chancelier

d'Angleterre, Othes de Gransson salut et li apparellie a son playsir et a sa volunte. Sire, pur ce que ie sui desirranz doir bones novelles de voustre estat, le quel Dious face touz iours bon, je vous pri sire que le plus sovant que vos porrez le me veullez mander. Endroit dou mien sire, sil vous plait a savoir, i'éstoye seins et haitiez, le dieu merci, quant ceste lettre fu faite. Sire, cum aucunes genz facent grief a sire Wdry de Wyppeyns, mon clerc, et le quel est en mon servise en l'eglise de Wyrkinthone dont il est persone, je vous pri, sire, que vous ses procurours voullez avoir recommande aus besoignes qui le thocheront, et que vous, sire, pour ce qu'il est en mon service, li veuillez aydier, s'il vous plait, comant il ait la proteccion le Roy a toutes ses clauses tant que a iij anz. Et me veullez, sire, si vous plait, voustre volonte mander, la quel ie feroye a mon povoir. Sire, nostre seignur vous gard. Donees Espalli le xvj iour de Jenuier.

*Endorsed*: A Reverent pere en dieu, mon seigneur Jehan, par la grace de Dieu Evesque de Cicestre, Chancelier d'Angleterre.

(8.)

## EDWARD II. to OTHO DE GRANDISON.

September 12, 1312.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxxii. 108.

[There were many subjects of dispute with the Abbey of Mont St. Michel. On the judicial Eyres referred to see pp. 165–6, and on the Seal of the Baillie see p. 161. The endorsement illustrates the attitude of Otho's lieutenants on political questions.]

Edwardus, dei gratia Rex Anglie, Dominus Hibernie, et Dux Aquitanie, dilecto et fideli suo Ottoni de Grandisono, Custodi suo Insularum de Gernesye et de Geresye, vel ejus locum tenenti, salutem. Ex parte abbatis Sancti Michaelis de Periculo Maris per peticionem suam coram nobis et consilio nostro exhibitam, nobis est ostensum, quod licet ipse et predecessores sui, Abbates loci predicti, attornatos suos per litteras suas patentes ad omnimoda placita ipsum abbatem et predecessores suos predictos racione terrarum et tenementorum suorum in Insulis predictis tangencia hucusque facere, et huiusmodi attornati ad placita illa prosequenda et defendenda coram Justiciis ad assisas in dictis Insulis capiendas assignatis, et aliis ballivis quibuscunque Insularum earundem a tempore, quo non extat memoria, loco Abbatis et predecessorum

suorum predictorum admitti consueverint, nichilominus dilecti et fideles nostri Henricus de Guldeford, et Johannes de Dytton, quos nuper ad assisas in dictis Insulis capiendas Justicios nostros duximus assignandos, attornatos, quos idem Abbas coram ipsis per litteras suas patentes fecerat, ut predictum est, loco ipsius Abbatis ad placita ipsum coram eisdem Justiciis tangencia prosequenda et defendenda, voluntarie et absque causa racionabili admittere recusaverunt; propter quod idem Abbas super hujusmodi attornatis suis in Insulis predictis per suas patentes litteras faciendis semper postmodum extitit impeditus, in ipsius et domus sue predicte dispendium manifestum, super quo sibi per nos petit remedium adhiberi. Nolentes igitur ipsum abbatem in hac parte taliter pregrauari, vobis mandamus quod si vobis modo debito constiterit ita esse, tunc attornatos quos idem Abbas ad placita ipsum in Insulis predictis racione terrarum et tenementorum suorum predictorum tangencia prosequenda et defendenda per litteras suas patentes attornaverit loco ipsius Abbatis admittatis, et ab aliis ballivis et ministris nostris Insularum predictarum admitti faciatis, prout hujusmodi attornati per litteras patentes ipsius Abbatis et predecessorum suorum predictorum constituti semper a tempore predicto ante adventum Justiciorum nostrorum predictorum in eisdem Insulis admitti consueverunt. Datum apud Westmonasterium xij die Septembris anno regni nostri sexto.

*In dorso:—*

Dum ego, locum tenens O[thonis] de Grandissono in Insulis, nuper essem in Anglia pro negociis Regalibus de dictis Insulis prosequendis, hoc breve fuit presentatum cum ballivo de Gerseyo et de Guern[esye], et licet prohibuissem eisdem ballivis, quod aliquod breve dominum Regem vel abbatem Montis sancti Michaelis tangens nisi me presente reciperent vel aperirent, nichilominus iidem ballivi, me absente et ultra inhibicionem meam, hoc breve receperunt et aperuerunt. Et fuit repertum coram eis minus bene quod dictus Abbas debet admitti per attornatum secundum formam in brevi contentam. Idem quidem nisi aliud super hoc apponatur remedium cedit et cedet perpetuo in juris Regis detrimentum. Sicut per Henricum de Guildeford et socios suos, et preterea per Johannem de Frisingfeld et socios suos Justiciarios vestros clare poterit reperiri. Et si unquam idem admissus fuerit in casibus contentis in breui, hoc fuit per favorem aliquorum ballivorum, vel per preceptum Regium ad certum terminum. Que vobis notifico sub sigillo ballivie vestre de Guernerton hic inserta.

*De attornatis.*

(9.)

## GERARD D'ORONS to HUGH LE DESPENSER.

March 9, 1324.

*Ancient Correspondence*, lviii. 11.

[The date of this letter is shown to be 1324 by the record of Gerard d'Oron's expenses in the Pipe Roll for 17 Edward II. See pp. 185–7, above.]

Cher sire j'envoie lettres a mons. le Roy d'Engleterre, par lesquelles je li fais savoir ce que j'ai fait de ce qu'il me charga de faire es parties de Savoie et d'autres leux. Je sai ben que vous verez, s'il vous plaist, les lettres que j'envoie sus ce a mons. le Roy, parquoi je ne vous envoie mie la forme des chouses qui si contenent. Cher sire, je vous pri que vous atez la response, que Mons. le Roy voudra faire sus ce, et qu'il ne soit mie eschars orendroit s'il a mestier d'avoir genz, quar certeinement li Roys de France nen est mie eschars en ce, mais se porchace d'avoir genz tant comme il puet. Et si mons. pert orendroit ceux a qui j'ai parle, il ne les aura mie autre foiz, quant il les li plaira avoir. Cher sire, faites que c'il que mons. envoiera a traitier ces chouses, qu'il soient genz tractables, et qu'il aient poer de ce faire et soent garni d'avoir argent. Et quant il venront a Losanne il me troveront ou a ma maison Dorons, qui est trois lees pres de Losanne, si que lan poist sattifier a ceux qui iroent servir mons. le Roy, selonc ce que lan duroit, et que lan accorderoit. Cher sire, faites et ordenez sus ce que la response soit a Losanne dedanz Pasques, ou tant au moins dedanz les eytaues de Pasques. Cher sire, mandez moi touz jourz, et commandez vostre bone volunte comme celui, qui est apareliez de faire la par mon poer, et comme celui qui est touz vostres. Nostre sire vous donne bone vie. Donees a Chamber' en Savoie, le noven jour dou mois de Marz. De par le vostre.

Girart Dorens.

*Endorsed:* A mons. Hue le Despensier seignur de Glamurgant.

# THE CAUSES OF THE WAR OF JENKINS'[1] EAR, 1739.

By HAROLD W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

*Read March* 18, 1909.

BOTH Burke and Coxe have said that Jenkins never lost his ear from the stroke of a Spanish 'cutlash'; a modern historian has shown it to be likely that he did. What, however, is more important than the establishment of this truth is the decision as to the exact amount of influence it had upon producing the war which followed. Jenkins' ear may be said to typify the feelings of the English public in their broad sense, their hatred for the Spaniards as cruel Papists, their insular detestation of the foreigner, and the like. The question is how far did these feelings influence the declaration of war; what were the main motives of the diplomats on either side? Did the English statesmen first truckle to Spain and then to England? The great interest of such an inquiry lies in the fact that the year 1739 was a turning point of history. It was, perhaps, the first of English wars in which the trade interest absolutely predominated, in which the war was waged solely for balance of trade rather than for balance of power. But it is not alone memorable on this account; from this war issued, in a clear and undeviating succession, the

[1] *Bibliographical Note.*—Lord Acton once said that on most European events the historian could consult the diplomacy of ten governments. For the New World, however, three are usually sufficient. The archives of France and Spain on this incident have been well explored by Baudrillart, *Philippe V et la cour de France*, vols. iii. and iv. Paris 1893; and by Armstrong, *Elizabeth Farnese*, London, 1892. This article endeavours to present fresh evidence from the English diplomatic records.

series of wars which were waged between England and France during the eighteenth century—wars in which Spain was sometimes a passive spectator, oftener an active enemy, never the friend of England. Spain's alliance with France produced grave complications for England in 1743, contributed to the fall of the greatest of English ministers in 1761, and to the loss of the greatest of English colonies in 1783. The danger of this union was only averted in 1791 by the use of the most skilful diplomacy; it induced the younger Pitt to coquet with Spanish-American revolutionists in 1797, to plan military expeditions to Buenos Ayres in 1805, and it brought Canning to recognise the Spanish-American republics in 1823. Between 1739 and 1823 the cause and effect are clear and unmistakable, the danger of the Bourbon Alliance giving France an empire in the West hovers ever before the eyes of English statesmen, until Canning baffled the Spanish and French monarchies alike by his recognition of republican South America, when

> Debating despots hemmed on either shore
> Shrank trembling from the roused Atlantic's roar.

The immeasurable consequences of the decisions taken by the English Ministry and people in 1739 are therefore clear. To drive Spain into the arms of France was to imperil the future of English predominance in the New World. To make an ally of Spain was, on the other hand, to assure it. The following narrative will show that England, during the negotiations of 1738–9, had at times a real possibility of securing the second alternative. It will attempt to show that, though a decision for war was certainly intelligible, it was not inevitable, and that, like the Roman of old, the English Minister carried peace or war in the fold of his mantle.

In foreign policy the personal factor is always important; it was never more so than in the years 1737–9. Elizabeth Farnese was the real ruler of Spain at almost any time during the life of her indolent and hypochondriacal husband. She was more the ruler than usual during 1738–9, because King Philip V. was beset with a fit of mania, which showed

itself, wrote Keene, in imitating Farinelli's singing (very badly) and in howling at dinner. Patiño, the great commercial minister, who had sometimes dominated even Elizabeth, had died in 1736, and his chief successor, De la Quadra (afterwards Marquis of Villariàs), was a mere clerk in comparison with him. 'More dull and stubborn than I could well conceive.' Beside him was Quintana, Secretary of Marine and for the Indies, 'a more difficult, tenacious, disputable antagonist never was met with'; and Ustariz, first Commissioner of the War Office, said to be all-powerful with La Quadra. Montijo, President of the Council of the Indies, 'the most reasonable and the most instructed person I meet with'; but during 1738–9 said to have been set aside by the influence of Ustariz. In brief, 'this country [Spain] is at present governed by three or four mean stubborn people of little minds and limited understandings but full of the Romantick Ideas they have found in old Memorials and Speculative authors who have treated of the immense Grandeur of the Spanish Monarchy, People who have vanity enough to think themselves reserved by Providence to rectify and reform the mistakes and abuses of past ministers and ages.'[1] Even if Don Quixote had not been revived in the Spanish Ministry, Queen Elizabeth needed no stirring for her impetuous temper. Generally Keene's sketch is etched in with somewhat too biting an acid, but none the less the insignificance of the Ministers, combined with the humours of Elizabeth, constituted a danger to peace in Spain quite as great as the violence of parliamentary discussions or the venom of popular pamphlets in England. To this there was added 'a superstitious delicacy' and an almost incredible slowness and carelessness on the part of Spanish diplomacy. 'Can you well believe that such is the infatuation here that more serious moments have been spent in choosing Patterns for lacing and embroidering the Uniforms they have given to

[1] Public Record Office, Spain, *State Papers Foreign*, vol. 133, Jan. 13, K. to N., 'private and particular,' Ap. 13/24, 1739; K. to N., 'most private' (*vide* also for above touches—Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 131, Segovia, Aug. 18/29, 1738).

all the Officers of the Household, than in thinking of our affairs. . . . This is properly Negotiating by inch of candle like our Auctions.'[1] But though this mixture of dilettantism, sleepiness, and caprice must have been trying enough, it had a certain advantage. There may have been a good deal of inattention shown to the negotiations, but there was also a good deal of inattention shown to the wishes of the Spanish people as a whole. The personal caprices of Spanish queen or courtiers may have irritated the English people, but they guarded against a good deal of danger from the anger of the whole Spanish nation. The conciliation of a few persons at the Spanish Court was the real way to arrive at a satisfactory settlement, and Keene had only to cajole the Court to secure everything he wanted.

For this purpose the negotiators on the English side were well chosen. Sir Robert Walpole was easy, good natured and strongly desirous of peace, as was Horatio Walpole the elder, Ambassador at the Hague, who was frequently consulted by the Ministry.[2] Lord Harrington, the second Secretary of State, followed suit. Benjamin Keene—the Ambassador at Madrid, and the chief negotiator throughout—was good-natured, easy, fat, and agreeable, but yet resolute and adroit enough when occasion served. He was at times a little sharp in criticism and repartee, but conspicuous for the real moderation of his views, and if he occasionally displayed an ignorance of his Government's actions which was a little too diplomatic, or a knowledge of his opponent's aims which was the reverse, he succeeded where the best French and Austrian diplomats had failed. He was never out of favour with their Spanish Majesties, who specially signified their genuine personal regret on his departure in 1739. His position was, however, difficult throughout, because he acted in a double capacity and in two respects. He was not only the representative of

[1] Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 133, Jan. (apparently 13 or 14), 1739, K. to Conraud (Under Secretary to Newcastle).

[2] He was the author of a secret memoir, Jan. 1738, *vide* below, p. 204. This Memoir is referred to by Coxe, and contains most valuable matter. I hope to publish it in full at a later stage.

the English Crown, but the agent of the South Sea Company, a private and comparatively irresponsible business firm which had special transactions with the Spanish King ; he not only received instructions from Newcastle, but private letters from Walpole throughout his negotiations.[1] In England the negotiations which took place in London with the Spanish Ambassador, Sir Thomas FitzGerald (Don Geraldino) in June–July, 1738, were managed chiefly by Sir Robert Walpole, and had a very important bearing on all later transactions, although the diplomacy proper was in the hands of the Duke of Newcastle, the Principal Secretary of State and chief negotiator throughout. The obligation of serving two public masters and one private company undoubtedly increased Keene's difficulties as well as anxieties. But it was Newcastle who represented the real danger—Keene and Walpole at bottom hated the prospect of war, but Newcastle feared unpopularity at home even more than he feared the enemy abroad. Evidence will show over and over again how, at the critical moment, he wished to yield to the public, and how he allowed the violence of the street to overcome the prudence of the council.

The causes of dispute between Spain and England may be succinctly stated ; their merits deserve a longer relation. After 1731, the old disputes about Gibraltar and Minorca ceased to have force, though not to cause irritation ; as for the other great cause of dispute, the claims of English merchants for vessels seized by Spanish *garda costas*, and for depredations and ill-treatment, it was referred to a Commission in the same year. This Commission met in a good spirit, but was interrupted by fresh depredations, in especial by the assault

[1] I have found no trace of the Keene-Walpole correspondence, but the fact is substantiated by Coxe, *Walpole*, ed. 1798, vol. 3, pp. 520–2. Keene writes, p. 522, that he intends to burn all Walpole's letters and papers before leaving Madrid. This is the only letter of the series that appears to have escaped this English *auto-da-fé* on Spanish soil. There seems to be a reference to the fact of this Correspondence in P.R.O., Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 133, Feb. 12/23, 1739, K. to Stone. There is some unpublished correspondence of Keene to the Duke of Leeds calendared, *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* xi. App. pt. vii. p. 47, but it appears to refer to the years 1751–6.

upon Robert Jenkins. Whether his account that he had his ear cut off by a Spanish pirate, and was bidden take it to King George, was true or no, the Ministry assumed that it was. Expressions referring to it like 'immediate satisfaction for this cruel and barbarous act' occur on June 18, 1731,[1] while apology for it is to be 'particularly' demanded on August 3, 1731.[2] Even at this period, however, the double note, half of defiance, half of humility, which is so often subsequently to recur, is pre-eminent in English diplomacy. Delafaye, Newcastle's under-secretary, writes to Keene on October 1, 1731, in the humblest strain, perhaps under the influence of Walpole. On November 8 and December 9, respectively, Harrington and Newcastle write in a style which resembles the haughtiness of Pitt.[2] But though the voice of Newcastle (presumably in deference to public opinion) was bellicose, he was not as yet prepared to support complaint by action. This fact is clearly revealed by his letter to Keene of July 14, 1732,[3] where he describes the West Indian Seas as 'spread with British ships': many go from hence to the coast of Guinea to buy negroes and carry them to Barbadoes and Jamaica, where cargoes are very valuable; others trade directly 'between this country and the British Islands in the West Indies, and many are continually trafficking between these islands and His Majesty's Plantations on the Continent of America; all these are, generally speaking, vessels built and fitted out meerly for trade, and not provided or equipped in a military way, and become an easy prey to Spanish Privateers; and besides this advantage the Spaniards have

[1] Drafts N. to K., P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 109. The letter of June 18 has annexed to it the deposition of Jenkins, June 17, 1731, made to a Government official (Delafaye) and signed and attested by his chief mate and boatswain. The Admiralty side of the matter (the first revelation of the truth) was given to the world by Professor J. K. Laughton, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* iv. [London 1889], 741–9. There is a good discussion of the matter in Hertz, *British Imperialism in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1908, pp. 32–3. *Cp.* also P.R.O., Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 113, Jan. 10, 1731, N. to K.

[2] See note 1 above.

[3] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 113. *Cp.* also *Horatio Walpole's Secret Memoir*, Jan. 1738, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9131, ff. 236 *sqq.*

over us, *in case of a rupture*, the South Sea trade necessarily leaves constantly in their power ships and effects of a considerable value belonging to that Company, which they never fail to seize upon in every dispute we have with them.' For the reason, then, that our shipping was vulnerable, Newcastle was not anxious for war, though he did not mind trumpeting our grievances loud enough to the Spanish Government, or even writing as on June 29, 1733, that 'such enormitys for the future' (as some of the late outrages) 'could not fail of bringing on a war between the two nations.'[1]

Fortunately enough, just at this time, the question of the Polish Succession began to absorb the attention of France. Spain became her ally in Continental warfare and the obligation was extended to the New World; and the two Bourbon Courts concluded, in great secresy, the famous treaty of the Escurial (November 7, 1733). This was the earliest of those three famous *Pactes de Famille*, which so profoundly influenced the history of the New World. This, the first of them, however, appears to have had little influence, though some think that it pledged Spain irrevocably to fight with France against England. The exact contrary is the case —Elizabeth remained the bitter enemy of the French Cardinal Minister Fleury, neither Queen nor Cardinal felt bound by the 'eternal and irrevocable union,' of 1733, and in 1736 and 1737 their irritation with one another was extreme. The substance of this treaty of 1733 was known to Newcastle in February 1734, and this knowledge was to exercise a sinister effect upon the negotiations of 1739.

Meanwhile the depredations went on despite Newcastle's remonstrances, and it was not until five years from this date (1737) that he demanded satisfaction in a peremptory manner. It is probable that even Newcastle was sensible that some of the British tales of outrage, injury, and the like may have been exaggerated. At any rate, as the subsequent diplomacy

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 118, N. to K.; Patiño was rather bellicose also about this time, *vide ibid.* Oct. 9, 1733, 'Private' and in cypher, N. to K.; and *vide ibid.* vol. 121, Feb. 5, 173/4, N. to K., addition 'most private.'

will show, the British Government were willing to abate some of the claims of their merchants in return for a cash payment. That there were some grievances may be readily admitted; the Spanish governors could not be adequately supervised from Madrid, and, in any case, had great difficulty in controlling the privateers with which the Spanish Main swarmed. The Spanish *garda costas* sometimes acted as pirates towards Englishmen while posing as official vessels, very much in the same way as a clever thief now robs a law-abiding citizen by impersonating a tax collector. Again, the Spanish Governor sometimes had a share in the profits of the privateer, and therefore winked at his actions. Montijo, the most moderate of the Spaniards, put the case in a nutshell to Keene, 'If Spain would accumulate all her grievances against us, she might make as much to do as we did . . . that there were Faults on both Sides; our [*i.e.* England's] Contrabandists ought to be punished, and some of their [Spanish] Governors hanged.'[1]

The illicit trade, which Englishmen pursued with the Spanish colonies, was the real secret of the Spanish fury against English vessels.[2] A certain amount of this smuggling was conducted through the annual ship sent by the South Sea Company to trade with Spanish America, in accordance with a provision of the Treaty of Utrecht.[3] But, apart from

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, April 12, 1738. K. to N. 'private' (*vide* also Spain, vol. 133, March 16, 1739, K. to N.); *vide* Horace Walpole to Trevor, July 21/Aug. 1, 1738, *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* xiv. App. pt. ix. p. 20 (Buckinghamshire Papers, Trevor MSS.), on the advantages for illicit trade which the Assiento gave; *vide* also *Horatio Walpole's Secret Memoir*, Jan. 1738, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9131, f. 209, ff. 222 *sqq.* The judgment of Montijo is precisely that of the foreigner: *c.p.* Vaulgrenaut's instructions from Paris, April 11, 1749, *Recueil des Instructions*, xii. *bis. Espagne*; Morel-Fatio et Léonardon, p. 316, Paris 1899.

[2] *Cp.* P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 135, Duke of Bedford to K. May 11, 1749, 'The contraband trade with the Spanish West Indies, the great bone of contention between the two nations, and the cause of most of the wars that have happened betwixt them.'

[3] According to the King of Spain's Memorial, April 17, 1732, received by Keene from Stert, September, 23, 1738, P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 131, this 'unlawful trade' was 'carried on by the directors themselves . . . under the

this, the illicit trade of private individuals was very considerable, and England's record in this matter, both official and unofficial, compares unfavourably with that of other nations. We hear, for instance, of the Dutch, that 'their trade in the West Indies, in general, is much more confined than ours, and that which they carry on to the Spanish Colonies is altogether an illicit one, and therefore the Dutch Merchant Ships are generally of sufficient force to be an overmatch for the *garda costas*; and wherever they are not, the Dutch know they have no pretence to trade there, and never complain when their Ships are taken.'[1] Again, if we take the case of France, we find her trade conducted in an unexceptionable manner—'we have been informed that France obliges Her Captains, when they receive their Expeditions at any of their Ports either in Europe or America, to give Security not to trade in any Port or on any Coast belonging to His Catholick Majesty in the West Indies. By this method they have not only put an effectual stop to those illicite practices, but have secured thereby a free and uninterrupted Navigation to the fair and innocent trade. But,' as England's Plenipotentiaries ingenuously add, 'how far any Regulation of this nature, or any other equivalent to it, may be consistent with our *Constitution, or with the sense of the trading part of our nation, we must leave to better judgments than our own to determine.*'[2] If

shadow of the ship of permission and of the Assiento of negroes.' There was also, there can be little doubt, a very large private trade among the Company's servants without the directorial cognizance. Consult the most instructive contemporary pamphlet on this subject, *Considerations on the American Trade before and since the Establishment of the South Sea Company*, 1739.

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 113, N. to K. July 14, 1732; *ibid.* vol. 133, March 16, K. to N. 'Mor de la Quadra has insinuated to me more than once, as well as to the Dutch Ambr., that the principal remedy (for grievances) . . . lyes in our own hands, by imposing penalties on Contrabandists, and he gave this as a reason why France never had any occasion to pass offices on this subject, notwithstanding the proximity of their Possessions in St. Domingo.' This letter shows Keene to have been much afraid that the Dutch would agree to provisions suppressing their illicit commerce which would not be 'agreeable to our constitution or the present temper of our [England's] people.'

[2] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 131, Keene and Castres to N., Oct. 2/13, 1738, Segovia. For France, *vide* also Armstrong's well-known work *Elizabeth Farnese*,

England had shown the same zeal in suppressing her illicit trade as France, Jenkins would probably not have lost his ear, the British public their temper, and Newcastle his head.

But, while the illicit trade of Englishmen was certainly felt as a most serious grievance in Spain, there can be no doubt that the Spaniards sometimes confounded innocent English traders with the guilty. It was impossible to line the Spanish-American coasts with troops, and consequently, when the *garda costas* did search anyone, they stuck at little in order to prove them to be guilty. If pieces of eight, cocoa, or logwood were found aboard a British vessel it was held that contraband was proved. Yet this contention, though a natural sophistry, was still a real one. Carteret pointed out that cocoa might come from Jamaica, logwood from Domingo, while pieces of eight were a usual tender throughout the West Indies. Newcastle had frequently pressed this point in his despatches,[1] and Keene reported to Newcastle that 'a friend of mine in the [Spanish] Admiralty' was ingenuous enough to confess . . . that 'as We had now a permitted commerce to the Spanish possessions in America by the Assiento Contract, and consequently neither the Spanish Coin, nor the Fruits of their Countries could pass as proof for condemning an English Vessel of having been guilty of Illicite Commerce.'[2] But, though we may readily admit that England had real and serious grievances, there can be no question that her illicit trade was enormous. Even the

p. 286; references to English illicit trade may be found in P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 132, Jan. 7, 1738, N. to K.; *ibid.* vol. 130, K. to N., May 7, 1738, 'secret and private,' May 26, 1738 (enclosure in same of translation of La Quadra's letter); *ibid.* vol. 133, K. to Conraud, Jan. (13 ?) 1739; *ibid.* K. to N. March 16, 1739.

[1] Carteret, May 2, 1738, *Parl. Hist.* x. 745–54. *Cp.* also the same contention by Newcastle in P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 118, N. to K., Jan. 10, 1733; *vide* also *Horatio Walpole's Secret Memoir*, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9131 f. 131, ff. 221-2. The author of *Popular Prejudices against the Convention* (1739) pointed out, however, 'there is indeed some cocoa growing in our Colonies, but very different from Spanish cocoa.'

[2] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, Feb. 3, 1738. Madrid. *cp.* Armstrong's *Elizabeth Farnese*, p. 246.

moderate Montijo, whose knowledge and judgment were equally worthy of respect, speaks of 'the immense prejudice Spain receives from unlawfull [*i.e.* private] traders.'[1] The South Sea Company conducted an illicit trade of their own in connection with their annual ship, yet it is uncertain whether they ever really made any considerable profits. Undoubtedly one of the causes of their failure was the enormous number of private individuals, interlopers, and adventurers, whose successful smuggling produced an unfair competition with which the Company could not contend. Contemporary pamphlets tell us that the interlopers sold slaves and goods at a price with which the Company could not compete, that New Spain and Cuba derived half their provisions from illicit sources, and the like.[2] The prices of the Company were cut, their goods undersold, and even their existence endangered. As Spain had inflicted considerable losses on the Company not only through the *garda costas*, but by seizing all their effects in Spanish ports in 1719 and 1727, it is easily intelligible that the Company should have been the most bitter opponents of the Spaniards and the most earnest advocates of the war.

But though the English peaceful traders between one British West Indian isle and another, as well as the South Sea Company, may have had some real grievances against Spain, there was another side of the question. If English ships were exposed to Spanish pirates, if Englishmen were chained in Spanish dungeons, or tied to labouring oars in the galleys, Spain had her own list of outrages also to unfold. One well-informed pamphleteer declared that he had seen Spaniards publicly sold as slaves in British Colonies, and that the seas swarmed with English pirates, often including British

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, May 7, 1738, K. to N., Casadel Monte, 'most private.'

[2] Most of the valuable contemporary pamphlets on this subject are referred to in G. B. Hertz, *British Imperialism in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1908, p. 15 *sqq*. While not dealing with the diplomacy of the period, this work is of great value, owing to the patience and care with which the printed pamphlets and works of the period have been ransacked for information.

logwood cutters from Campeachy Bay.[1] The latter, at any rate, was a notorious fact proved by the Instructions to British war vessels[2] as well as by various other testimonies.

Thus there were plenty of grievances on both sides, though the main key to the bitterness clearly is that, while the English could complain of many, and the Spaniards of some outrages, the former continued their profitable illicit trade unchecked. The latter, being no traders and severe monopolists, resented this practice intensely, and tacitly intimated that the *garda costas* would not be checked by Spain until the smugglers were checked by England.[3] To a commercially minded Minister like Patiño nothing could have been more irritating than that England, while imposing the severest penalties on smugglers in her own country, was gentle enough towards them, as long as they only tried to smuggle in Spanish America. Hence until Patiño's death (1736) matters did not improve. Montijo even told Keene that Patiño's efforts to obtain compensation for unlawful captures of English ships in the West Indies were so languid that 'many of the [Spanish] Governors . . . have not thought fit so much as to acknowledge the Letters and Orders sent to them in his time.'[4] Whatever be the truth of this, little or nothing was done, despite remonstrances of a serious nature.

[1] *Popular Prejudices against the Convention*, p. 21, quoted by Mr. Hertz, p. 52. This particular statement as to seeing Spaniards sold as slaves in British colonies is hotly traversed in *A New Miscellany for the Year 1739*, pp. 25–6.

[2] *Vide* P.R.O. *Admiralty Secretary Out Letters*, vol. 55, Feb. 15, 1738, Instructions to Captain Reddish, *Anglesea*, Plymouth, pp. 194–8; and *ibid.* May 9, 1738, Instructions to Captain Sir Yelverton Peyton, *Hector*, Portsmouth, pp. 231–5. 'And whereas we have received information that the pirates do frequently infest the island of Providence' . . 'and the coast of Virginia.' . . 'the ship under your command shall be constantly kept in a good condition for service.' The instructions state that the service during recent years had been very slack, and that British captains had allowed their vessels to lie in harbour. It is significant that the instructions say nothing of stopping illicit commerce, though they make it clear that the captains must not themselves be concerned with any kind of private trade, etc.

[3] *Cp.* Sorel, *Europe et la Révolution Française*, i. p. 338, Paris 1908.

[4] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, May 7, 1738, K. to N., Casa del Monte, 'most private.' There may be exaggeration here, for Montijo had reason to hate Patiño.

A British memorandum records that between 1732 and October 1737 there were captures of over a dozen British sloops, four ships, four brigantines and a schooner; and Keene presented twenty-eight bundles of claims and depositions in 1738.[1] It was clearly impossible that this situation should continue, remonstrances in 1732–3 had failed to do anything but hasten the signature of the *Pacte de Famille*. That instrument, though regarded lightly by Spain, had tended to deepen England's distrust and uncertainty. In 1737, however, Fleury and Elizabeth were on such exceedingly bad terms that even Newcastle could not suspect a danger from a joint Bourbon coalition, and this fact probably influenced the British Ministry in pressing during this year for a redress of grievances, which should be at once speedy and final. The voice of the British public was beginning to be heard with no uncertain note, and Newcastle, never inattentive to it, thought that a good opportunity had at last arrived to enforce upon Spain his somewhat empty threats of five years before.[2] A Petition of West India Merchants on the Spanish Depredations of October 11 (O.S.), 1737, was heard 'before the Lords of the Cabinet Council' on the 15th (O.S.) and was sympathetically answered by King George, and during the remainder of the year Keene pressed the Spanish Court for immediate redress of grievances in a spirited manner. The atmosphere began to grow dark, the thunder to mutter, and the storm seemed on the point of breaking.

On March 2, 1738, Newcastle wrote to Keene that 'His Majesty has thought fit to declare, that he will grant Letters of Reprisal, to such of His Subjects, whose Ships, or effects, may have been seized on the High Seas by Spanish *garda costas*, or ships, acting by Spanish Commissions; which is what His Majesty thinks, He could not, in Justice, any

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 113 [no date given].

[2] On Oct. 1, 1731, Delafaye wrote to Keene [*S.P.F.* Spain, 109, quoted p. 202], 'In short, my dear friend, unless we do something to stop the Clamours of people, all we have done will be of little service here at home.' This terror of the home public is the consistent note throughout.

longer Delay.'[1] As a matter of fact, His Majesty's name and sentiments were used rather in vain, for no letters were issued even till as late as April 28.[2] But the information was a threat of action to frighten Spain, and a thunderbolt is sometimes formidable, when brandished, even if it is not discharged. As such, it was speedy and effectual. 'The Resolution of granting Letters of Reprisal seems to have struck them in a particular manner, since they presume that even after an accommodation of the present Differences, the commerce of the Indies will continue to be disturbed for years to come, by People, who may neglect their sovereign's orders, when used to a Licentious way of living. This, at least, they say, is what is to be apprehended from experience of past times, both with regard to the English and Spanish.'[3] This declaration reveals naïvely how great must have been the extent of piracy and smuggling, if the official grant of Letters of Reprisal could produce such gloomy apprehensions of future licence.

But, while the Spaniards were appalled by this threat, there wanted not advocates—one of brass and one of iron—to clinch the English argument. On March 17, 1738, the inimitable Captain Jenkins is believed to have presented to a sympathetic House of Commons his tale of woes together with his ear in a bottle. On March 30 Captain Clinton, Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, was ordered to repair from Gibraltar to Minorca, and the tenor of his instructions[4] left no doubt that the prospect of war was already in contemplation. His orders were secret, but Jenkins and his grievances were public property; and parliamentary orators

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 132; *vide* also postscript of March 3.

[2] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 132, Whitehall, N. to K., April 28, 1738, 'secret and private.' The reason was not due to diplomatic caution, 'in Fact, not one Merchant has applied to the King for Letters of Reprisal.' *Vide* also *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* xiv. App. pt. ix; Earl of Buckinghamshire's Papers (Trevor MSS.), p. 13, 1738, March 7/18. *Ib.* p. 24. 'The merchants would not, when it came to, take Letters of Reprisal, they required the Government to engage,' etc. *Horatio Walpole's Secret Memoir* had recommended taking out Letters of Reprisal, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9131, ff. 244 *sqq.*

[3] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 131, Oct. 24, Nov. 4, 1738, K. to N.

[4] P.R.O. *Admiralty Out Letters* 55, Instructions to Clinton, p. 208.

denounced the truckling and subservience of the Government, without suspecting that it had at last become bellicose. Seldom had English indignation swelled higher—one speaker talked of Englishmen in chains, another of Englishmen crawling with vermin in Spanish prisons. Every artifice of malice or ingenuity was used—the Spaniards were cruel, the Spaniards were proud, the days of Elizabeth were remembered with regret, the days of Cromwell were appealed to with pride. Let there be an end of the haughtiness and cruelty and tyranny of the Spaniard by the assertion of the freedom of the Protestant Briton and the like. Such strains were jaunty and popular, and they beat insistently and not in vain, upon the ears of Newcastle. On April 12 (O.S.), 1738, he wrote to Keene making the usual demands for the security of navigation and redress for injuries, and referring to his Majesty's desire to make a last effort for peace and to the strong resolutions of the House of Commons.[1] The Spanish Court had been threatened by the thunderbolt of the Letters of Reprisal, the popular agitation was now used by Newcastle and Keene to drive the lesson home: 'I have omitted no occasion of setting this Court right in its notions about the Motives of the present general dissatisfaction in England, and of convincing them that it does not arise from any Intrigues of Party, but from the just resentment of the whole Nation occasioned by the cruel treatment His Majesty's subjects have received from the Spaniards.'[2] La Quadra, like a true Spanish Grandee, was inclined to be haughty and obstinate, but Keene had already judged that he was not in a condition to resist.[3] On April 26/May 7, after reading to him Newcastle's despatch 'in a tone that did not diminish

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 132.

[2] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, Casa del Monte, K. to N., 7 May (N.S.), 1738.

[3] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, K. to Stone, Ap. 4/15, 1738 (under-secretary of Newcastle), Casa del Monte. 'It is pretty plain they would not fall out with us at present, notwithstanding their late Blusterings about Georgia.' This was *à propos* of an angry memorial of La Quadra's of this same date (April 4–15) on the subject of the Letters of Reprisal.

any part of its spirit,' Keene suddenly made a frank appeal to La Quadra: 'As yet the whole matter was *dans son entier*, and it was absolutely in the hands of Spain to put a happy conclusion to it.'[1]

La Quadra was impressed, the Spanish treasury was unusually empty, the fleet was small, and concession therefore desirable. So on April 26/May 7 he sent orders to the Council of the Indies, 'drawn up in a manner to let them perceive that His Catholick Majesty's Intentions were to cultivate a good Understanding with the King of Great Britain and to render justice to such of his subjects as had been injured by the *garda costas*.' Orders sent to the Fiscal, however, with regard to monetary compensation, etc., instructed the officials to make out the best case for Spain.[2] Concession was in the Spanish air, and La Quadra only reflected the desires of Montijo, the most moderate and impartial of Spanish diplomats, and the wishes of the Spanish people as a whole.[3] Montijo, as usual, gave Keene the neatest summary of the situation: 'If you . . . have a mind to regulate our disputes in the Indies, you can never wish for better Intentions and Dispositions than ours now are, and if you have a mind to take advantage from our bad situation and fall out with us, you can never look out for a better oportunity (*sic*).'[4]

While La Quadra was conceding, Newcastle was arming;

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, Ap. 26/May 7, K. to N., Aranjuez.

[2] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, Ap. 26/May 7, 1738, K. to N., Casa del Monte, 'most private.' The information given was on the authority of Montijo, President of the Council of the Indies. Other information was sometimes secured by Keene from the Cardinal Nuncio, 'my purple friend.'

[3] P.R.O., *S.P.F.* vol. 224 (Reports of Spanish Consuls 1737–9). Report of J. B. Parker (Consul at Coruña) to N. June 4, 1738. 'I cannot express to your Grace the concern and Consternation the Inhabitants of all this coast are under with the apprehension of a War with England, which they very much dread, and heartily wish to see it prevented.' *Vide* also under June 13, 1738.

[4] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, in K.'s 'most private' letter to N. of Ap. 26/May 7, 1738; Montijo continues in the warmth of his assurances, 'that there never were, nor ever can be, better dispositions in his Court, than its present ones to do us justice, and to settle matters of this nature on a known and sure footing.'

for, in point of fact, he seems to have been influenced less by a desire to take advantage of the Spaniard than by a resolve to yield to English popular opinion. Despatches ordered Admiral Haddock to the Mediterranean and to Minorca, with a squadron of nine ships and two fireships, and with instructions which obviously contemplated an immediate outbreak of war.[1] At the same time (May 9)[2] Captain Peyton was ordered to convey Oglethorpe's regiment to Georgia, in order to defend that newly-founded colony against Spanish encroachments. By May 15/26 some rumours of warlike preparations reached Spain, their concessions vanished, and work on their fortifications began to be pushed on.[3] La Quadra addressed a lengthy letter (May 15/26) to Keene, which was haughty, almost defiant in tone, and which contained several flat contradictions of the English 'spirited' despatch. The real sting of La Quadra's reply lay, not so much in the force of his expressions, as in the superiority of his argument. The logic of Newcastle's despatch had been unequal to its spirit, for he had made a bad slip. In asserting the right of free navigation and prohibition of search he had tried to prove that the treaty with Spain of 1667 related to the West Indies, whereas it was concerned with Europe alone.[4] La Quadra had already pointed out the error, and he now insisted on it

[1] P.R.O. *Admiralty Out Letters*, vol. 55, pp. 230, 242–5. May 9, 15.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 231–5.

[3] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, May 15/26, K. to N., 'Secret and private.'

[4] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, K. to N., May 7, 1738 (N.S.); *ibid.* vol. 132, N. to K., March 2 and 17, 1738 (O.S.). The extent of the error was fully realised by the Ministry, *vide Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, xiv. App. pt. ix., Papers of Earl of Buckinghamshire (Trevor MSS.), p. 13, Horace Walpole to Robert Trevor, Feb. 28 (O.S.), 1738: 'The council is divided with respect to the sense of the treaty of 1667 as to the West Indies, and his Grace must support what he has wrote and signed, and Lord Chan[cello]r, between you and me, must support his friend'; also p. 13, March 7 (O.S.); and p. 14, March 14/25, 1738, H. W. to R. T: 'We have been a good deal embarrassed in having laid, altho' we don't care to own it, the foundation of our arguments upon a wrong treaty. We scramble out of it as well as we can, and connect the treaties of 1667 and 1670 together, on account of the last having confirmed the first, and the full powers for making the last being founded upon the necessity of explaining the first.'

again, to the confusion of the Ministry. Nothing is more irritating in a negotiation than to be proved to be in the wrong, and it was tempting to reply to a Spanish diplomatic victory on paper by an English victory on the sea. In acknowledging the receipt of La Quadra's memorial on June 1/11, Newcastle clearly intimated to Keene that war was almost inevitable. The English merchants were to be told immediately to withdraw their effects from Spanish harbours. Meanwhile orders for impressment on a large scale—the sure sign of immediate action—were sent out by the Admiralty.[1]

War, which was now within a hairsbreadth, was averted by a sudden and a new influence, probably by the hand of Sir Robert Walpole, who now for the first time assumes importance in the negotiation. Very fortunately for the peace party when La Quadra handed Keene his Memorial, he added certain verbal expressions, 'which he called a proof of his master's pacific intentions,' a proof indeed by no means deducible from the written word. 'He told me,' reported Keene[2] . . . 'that his Catholick Majesty would readily agree with the King, in following any amicable means that may be thought of, for finishing all the Disputes in general between the two Crowns, in such a manner That all past motives of Complaint may be adjusted and buryed in oblivion : and that such Rules may be fixt on for the future as may prevent any fresh uneasiness and dissatisfaction between England and Spain.' This short speech was to prove at once the refuge of the peace party in the English Ministry, and the *fons et origo* of all subsequent negotiation.

Very fortunately Don Geraldino, the Spanish ambassador in London, and Stert (formerly British commissary for the Treaty of Seville) had been amicably discussing the financial claims of each Power since the middle of April, and had arrived at a basis of agreement.[3] The transaction had been

[1] *Admiralty Out Letters*, vol. 55, p. 270, June 27, 1738 ; *vide* also p. 296, 304, etc.

[2] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, May 18/29, 1738, K. to N., Casa del Monte.

[3] All this is described in P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 132, N. to K. June 21, 1738, and enclosures thereto. 'The Lords' mentioned below were Lord Chancellor, Lord

considered private, and Keene was not informed of it, but Geraldino had communicated the matter to the Spanish Court. Immediately after the receipt of Keene's letter, containing La Quadra's interminable Memorial and an account of his verbal expressions, the financial project was taken up with vigour. Walpole was present at two further interviews between Stert and Geraldino—June 1/12, June 14/25. On the latter date the Lords of the Council met and suspended any immediate resolution on La Quadra's Memorial, and extended their blessing to the Stert-Geraldino negotiations. These were pushed on rapidly under the guidance of Walpole, who, as supreme financial official, was now really master of the situation. Proposals which offered a fair basis of settlement were temporarily accepted by Geraldino, with some anticipatory sanction from Madrid, and sent home on June 20/July 1. Walpole might long for peace, but he also liked to get the best of a bargain, and there can be little doubt that he drove Geraldino a little hard.[1] The reception of these overtures at Madrid was therefore not at first very favourable. La Quadra complained that the British Ministry had one proportion for estimating English financial pretensions, another for Spanish, and suspicions as to our arithmetical good faith were ominous.[2] Haddock's squadron cruising grimly in the Mediterranean gave both irritation and alarm to Queen Elizabeth Farnese.[3] On August

Privy Seal, Duke of Devonshire, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Scarborough, Earl of Islay, Lord Harrington, Sir C. Wager, Duke of Newcastle. I do not use the word 'Cabinet' to describe them, because, strictly, that phrase was applied to a larger and more formal body, corresponding more nearly to the modern Privy Council, to which reference is made on p. 209.

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 131, Segovia, August 18/29, 1738, K. to N.

[2] *S.P.F.* vol. 131, July 22/August 2. 'Montijo says he (Geraldino) ought to be hanged for his *crassa ignorancia*, in letting himself be imposed on by such an account.' . . . 'La Quadra, more moderate . . . wonders how he could have engaged himself so far . . . says that he has let himself be blinded by his good intentions.' Keene here suggests that the whole negotiation may have been to delude England, while a secret treaty of alliance was being signed with France.

[3] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 131, August 29, 1738; *vide ibid.* 'Most private,' October 13, 1738, K. to N: 'I am persuaded They (the Spanish Court) have

18/29 'she appeared in a bad humour after mass, and was beginning a discourse with the Nuncio in the following terms "*on a envie de nous faire peur*," but the King going out of the Oratory she followed him and had not time to vent her passion.' These, however, were but passing clouds: there was bluster but there was concession. By October the whole business of adjustment of financial claims seemed in a fair way of settlement, and this result owed not little to the iron arguments of Haddock. After much haggling Spain agreed to pay England 95,000*l.*, and this arrangement was to be preliminary to a general adjustment of disputes. Everything seemed to be settling down in the winter of 1738; the British Parliament with its noisy declaimers was prorogued, Elizabeth was quiescent, Newcastle moderate, the star of Walpole in the ascendant. On October 13, 1738,[1] Castres wrote to Conraud (Newcastle's under-secretary) that a short time before 'I would have given my Plenipotentiary-ship for half a crown. It has risen in value considerably since.' The impression of tranquillity was general throughout Spain, and the relief and jubilation corresponded. Even on August 2/13 Alicante was (a little prematurely) 'in a state of profound tranquillity.'[2] The fortifications, which had been rising at Cadiz, Ferrol, and Coruña, were stopped, and on October 19/30 at Coruña, 'The happy turn which Publick affairs have taken, hath caused a general joy in this Province, which is attended with

now gone all the Lengths they will go, towards avoiding a War, and bringing on a Reconciliation between the two Crowns.' How much Haddock's fleet had counted as an argument in bringing Spain this length is revealed in a letter from R. Trevor to Sir E. Fawkener, from the Hague (a copy), British Museum. Add. MSS. 23, 802, f. 86, verso, September 6 (N.S.) 1738. 'You ought not to be surprised at these pacifick appearances, when I tell you, England has at present 107 Ships of War, of different Force, and Denominations, actually in Commission.'

[1] British Consul-General at Madrid and Commissioner Plenipotentiary for the adjustment of British claims in conjunction with Keene. Segovia, P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 131.

[2] Consuls' Reports, P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 224, August 13 (N.S.), Report of A. Stanyford. For a local English view at Chichester, September 9, 1738, of the affairs *cp.* Hare MSS. p. 241. *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* xiv. App. pt. ix., London, 1895.

the wishes of everyone for a lasting Peace' (except perhaps the Pretender's supporters—a number of hard-drinking Irish captains in the Spanish service).[1]

After infinite delays, due less to ill-will than to the caprice of Elizabeth and to the snail-pace of Spanish diplomacy, Keene eventually prevailed, and signed with La Quadra the famous Convention of the Pardo on January 3/14, 1739. This arrangement had for its main provisions the agreement that all outstanding claims to December 10, 1737, as between Spain and England, should be reckoned to be discharged by the Spanish payment of 95,000*l.* within four months. Plenipotentiary commissioners (Castres and Keene on the English side, Quintana and Abaria on the Spanish) were to meet for the speedy settlement of outstanding disputes. There can be no question whatever that the signature of this convention was regarded on both sides as preliminary to a final adjustment of difficulties. So clearly was this recognised by both sides that on January 26/February 6 Newcastle instructed Keene to sound La Quadra as to the possibility of an English alliance with Spain[2]; and on January 29 (O.S.) the Admiralty issued orders to Haddock (whose fleet had done much to secure Spanish compliance with English terms) 'forthwith to repair to England.'[3] So much for English sincerity; Spanish is even more capable of proof. The Spaniards at once abandoned their warlike preparations; on April 13/24, 1739,[4]

[1] Consuls' Reports, P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 224, August 13 (N.S.), Report of J. B. Parker, *vide* also November 19, 1738, 'all the apprehensions which this People had of a Rupture with England are entirely vanished.' Cadiz was specially important as an index of feeling, because the British interest was so strong there; 'we have seldom less than a hundred sail of Vessels in that Bay, there being by this last post above one Hundred and Twenty.' P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 130, March 31, 1738, Keene to Newcastle.

[2] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.*, vol. 134, January 26, N. to K. Newcastle had previously hinted at this possibility in a letter of August 21/September 1, 1738, Spain, vol. 132, N. to K.

[3] P.R.O. *Admiralty Out Letters*, vol. 55, p. 370.

[4] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 133. 'Apart.' Mr. Leadam (*Political History of England*, vol. ix., London 1909, p. 363) traverses Mr. Armstrong's statement (*Elizabeth Farnese*, p. 355), that 'till within a month of the declaration of war, October 1739, no serious preparations were made.' This is putting it too

Keene could write to Newcastle: 'They have unarmed the greater part of their Ships, given liberty to their Officers to leave their Regiments, and their Destinations,' etc. For the rest it is obvious that both Powers had made real concessions for the sake of peace. Spain, which was nearly bankrupt, had agreed to make a speedy cash payment, and England, which was afraid of its merchants, had made considerable reductions in the amount of their original claims for compensation.

That results like these were secured should alone be quite enough answer to the countless criticisms which the Convention has evoked in those, and in later, times. For, whatever else may be thought of it, it cannot be maintained that the Convention was not sincere, or that one result which it secured, viz. the disarmament of the Spanish fleet, was a vague one. Even apart from this the English Ministry had scored a considerable diplomatic advantage, which could be used in subsequent negotiation. In an informal note, which Andrew Stone (Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs) was ordered by Newcastle to write to Keene previous to the signature of the Convention, this point is made exceptionally clear. 'As Spain has consented to pay a considerable Balance due to our Merchants, for Vessels and Effects, taken from them, by Spanish garda costas, etc., *it is evident, that they thereby acknowledge those Vessels, and Effects, for which They have thus consented to give Satisfaction, to have been unjustly, and wrongfully taken.*'[1] He goes on to say that this admission can be made use of to get rid of the obnoxious right of search. It is quite evident, therefore, from this letter that the British negotiators themselves would

strongly, but the fact of the Spanish disarmament till the end of May is proved by the MSS. over and over again. Mr. Leadam quotes from H. Walpole, *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* xiv. App. pt. ix. (Trevor MSS. p. 33), a letter to Trevor June 8/19 to show that the Spaniards were arming. But, as will be seen below, on May 29 (o.s). Spain refused to pay the 95,000*l.*, and this was known in England on June 7, after which war was inevitable and arming began.

[1] P.R.O. Spain *S.P.F.* vol. 132, Stone to Keene, 'private,' August 21, 1738, (italics my own). Horace Walpole took the same line of argument in Parliament; *vide* also *The Convention Vindicated*, pp. 11 *sqq.*

be privately convinced that they had gained important advantages, when the payment of the 95,000*l.* was subsequently made the principal point of the Convention.[1] They had, as they believed, evidently gained an admirable basis for securing their own points in the future Treaty.

The disputes likely to be discussed in the new Treaty, to which the Convention was a preliminary, touched three points—the boundaries of Georgia and Carolina, the British right to cut logwood in Campeachy Bay, the British right to Free Navigation or exemption from search by Spanish *garda costas*. All of these may be very briefly dismissed, though all were subjects full of difficulty. The dispute about Georgia was doubtful; the British right to cut logwood, though probably not established by treaty, was perhaps established by custom; on the right to Free Navigation there can be no doubt whatever that England was in the wrong.[2] Newcastle first tried to establish the latter right by Treaty and, when that proved ineffectual, fell back on that last refuge of bankrupt diplomatists in that age, 'the Law of Nations

[1] This point is argued very forcibly in *The Convention Vindicated, etc., from the misrepresentations of the enemies of our Peace*, sold by J. Roberts, London, 1739. This pamphlet has been plausibly attributed to Horatio Walpole, but it is not in the catalogue of his works in Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9131, ff. 1-5, which is in his own handwriting. Other pamphlets in favour of the Convention, Bordon's *Appeal to the Unprejudiced concerning the present Discontents* (1739), *Popular Prejudices against the Convention with Spain* (1739), the *Grand Question whether War or no War with Spain* (1739), are all worth reading and perhaps quasi-official *Vide* Hertz, pp. 51 *sqq.*

[2] In its extreme form the cry 'No Search' appears to have been intended to mean no search of British vessels by Spaniards on the high seas. Even the most ardent British patriots (*e.g.* Carteret, *Parl. Hist.*, x. 745–54) appear to have admitted that Spaniards should be allowed to search and to seize British ships found in Spanish ports or really near their coasts. The question of the right to search on the high seas was full of difficulty, because contrary winds frequently blew perfectly honest vessels (which were trading between British colonies), to some point near the Spanish coasts. It is easy to see how mistakes could thus arise, and how extremely difficult it would be to frame equable conditions. Even Sir Robert Walpole seems to have been quite firm in the resolve to oppose the right of search, except when British ships were lurking near the Spanish coasts; *vide* Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35406, f. 39, August 25, 1738, Newcastle to Hardwicke. A well-informed and sober contemporary view may be found in Hare MSS. pp. 243–4, *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* xiv. App. pt. ix., London, 1895.

(which is a Rule for all Countries, where particular treaties do not intervene).'[1] Unfortunately the Law of Nations, as held at this time and later expounded by Vattel, was not much more favourable to his claims than was the treaty right.[2] But it took much to shake Newcastle's confidence in this or any other British claim. Thus he wrote on January 7/18, 1738, of the right to cut logwood in Campeachy Bay 'to which they (British subjects) are entitled by Right and Custom, as very fully appears by the Report of the Board of Trade in 1717.'[3] Unhappily the calmer judgment of Keene was not convinced or even impressed by this. 'As to the cutting of logwood, I find that *at last* He [Colonel Bladen] is of the same opinion which some others I could name were always of, upon that article. But' [as Keene naïvely confesses] 'the Report of the Board of Trade in 1717 is become publick and who will venture to yeild [*sic*] a Tittle from it.'[4] Newcastle had himself some doubts about Georgia, but here as elsewhere no doubts as to the course he was to pursue. 'I fancy however the right may be, it will now be pretty difficult to give up Georgia.'[5] Thus, in brief and on the whole, practical judgments were simple, if theoretical solutions were difficult. Keene and Castres had left Newcastle to determine what portion of right or of justice

[1] *Vide supra*, and also P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 132, N. to K., April 12 (o.s.), 1738. 'The Freedom of Navigation and Commerce, which the Subjects of Great Britain have an undoubted Right to, by the Law of Nations, and by the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns,' etc.; *vide* also Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35406, ff. 55-6.

[2] Vattel's *Law of Nations* (ed. Chitty, 1834, p. 39), quoted by Mr. Hertz, p. 16; *vide* also p. 35.

[3] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* 132, N. to K. On the whole question *vide* Brit. Mus., Stowe MSS. 256, ff. 305-7, 308-18; Add. MSS. 33, 117, ff. 25-36 (Memoranda of Thos. Pelham), which give all the relevant documents or copies of them.

[4] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 133, Madrid, June 9, 1739, Keene to Conraud.

[5] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35406, f. 50, Claremont, September 25, 1738, Newcastle to Hardwicke; Add. MSS. 35909, ff. 74-5; *vide A New and Actual Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia* [London, 1732] for interesting details. Pulteney, in *A Review of all that passed between Great Britain and Spain*, 1721-1739 [London, 1739], writes: 'The giving up of Georgia will be esteemed very dishonourable to the Legislature, which hath passed so many acts for maintaining it.'

'our Constitution and the sense of the trading part of our nation might allow' (*vide* p. 205), and the Duke was satisfied with a modest remnant. Not the rights of the question, but the might of the British public, was the real measure of concession and negotiation for England, and the most slavish servant of mobs could hardly have truckled more to public opinion than did Newcastle, the aristocrat of aristocrats.

At first glance it might seem that the noisy declamations of a few unscrupulous and irresponsible politicians might upset the acutest and most delicate of negotiations, but, in reality, there were real hopes of arriving at a settlement, by way of mutual concession. Behind the three questions above-mentioned was a more important one for Spaniards, that of illicit trade. This was the point on which they felt most deeply, and it was here that an English concession could be made.[1] 'In all my conversations, as well with M. Montijo, as M. La Quadra, from the very beginning of our Disputes, I have always found this constant Condition expected from us, Namely that England should do something on her part towards stopping an illicite commerce. What would it avail, says Monsr. Montijo, if we should hang up a Dozen of our Governors in America to please You, or because they deserve it, if you, the English, do not treat your Contrabandists with equal Rigour; You only hear of your Ships being taken, but you give no attention to the Damages we suffer by Interlopers [quotes La Quadra as of the same view, *vide supra*, note 1, p. 205]. . . Besides, My Lord, no one who has any experience of this Court will ever believe they will come to any solid agreement, or any favourable extension of the American Treaty, on their side, if they have not some apparent condescension on ours. The art and Difficulty will be to know where to yield, in order to get an advantageous Bargain.' In brief Keene's idea was that the promise to suppress the illicit trade might be used so as to extort concessions in other directions from Spain. Newcastle was quite sensible of the value of this suggestion, and seems to have been willing to adopt

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 133, March 5/16, 1739, K. to N.

it. The first and second articles of a Project of a Treaty sent by him to Keene and Castres on May 8/19 contained provisions for suppressing the illicit trade, apparently so far as it related to private persons, but not touching that in connection with the South Sea Company.[1] Hence, if the South Sea Company would only be compliant in other directions, there was a real chance of final agreement.

A study of the documents does not confirm the popular view that England's desire to maintain the illicit trade of the interlopers and private individuals weighed deeply with the Ministry.[2] Their tenderness was reserved for the South Sea Company—that body so closely connected with the Government by financial ties, which was to repay Walpole for saving it in 1720 by ruining him in 1739. The kind of way in which the interests of merchants in general, and South Sea directors in particular, were beginning to be of Parliamentary importance is very strikingly illustrated by Delafaye's letter to Keene on October 1, 1731: 'These gentlemen [the Merchants] upon this have assumed a quite different air from what I have formerly known. They used in times past to come Cap in Hand to the Office praying for Relief, now the second word is *You shall hear of it in another Place*, meaning in Parliament. All this must be endured, and now in our turn we must bow and cringe to them.'[3] When the

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 134, May 8; *vide* also Hardwicke, Debate in the Lords on the Convention, March 1, 1739, x. pp. 1151–3; *Horatio Walpole's Secret Memoir*, Jan. 1738, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9131, f. 249, points out the impossibility of getting Parliament to pass, or subjects to keep, legislation of this kind.

[2] The main part of Newcastle's remonstrances seems to have been throughout against the *garda costas* for confiscating vessels carrying a few pieces of eight or a little logwood or cocoa (all of which *might* come from British colonies) *not* against obvious smugglers. That the above construction is his real meaning is proved from P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 109, N. to K., 'Private,' Dec. 9, 1731, where he declares that restitution must be made in all cases 'provided there be no collusive trade'; *vide* also in the same strain *Horatio Walpole's Secret Memoir*, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 9131, ff. 246 *sqq.*; and references *supra*, note 1, p. 206. A passage in P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 118, N. to K., Jan. 10, 1733, indeed, seems at first against this view—Keene is instructed to 'prevail with the Court of Spain not to be so tenacious of their old laws, or jealous of facilitating an illicit trade,' but the meaning appears to be that above mentioned.

[3] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 109.

'trading sense of the nation' was thus growing in power, and when Newcastle was in office, the reasons why the Government showed such deference to the South Sea Company are not far to seek. Trade by companies, as Bacon had said, was natural to England, and all Englishmen still believed in the dictum. This Company had been undercut by the interlopers, and would benefit by their suppression. An Englishman at home had money in the South Sea Company and the West Indies, and not in New England (whence most of the interlopers came), hence many London merchants would not have suffered much by the prohibition of private smuggling. The suppression of the illicit trade would indeed have occasioned considerable loss to various West Indian islands, but it would certainly have operated to the advantage of the South Sea Company. It was in the latter that the Government was most interested, and it was its refusal to put any sort of pressure upon the Company that was to be no slight occasion of the eventual rupture.

From the first to the last the action of the South Sea Company and its manner of advancing its claims hampered the Government, increased irritation, and exercised a sinister and disastrous influence on negotiations. In particular, the exclusion of their concerns from the Convention of the Pardo was fraught with serious disaster. The South Sea Company owed the King of Spain 68,000*l.* as a fourth share in the proceeds of the annual ship sent to Spanish-American shores. But the South Sea directors, being often near insolvency, were not seldom impatient with the King of Spain, from whom they had suffered severe confiscations in the wars of 1719 and 1727. They declared further that the damage they had sustained from the *garda costas* amounted to three times the 68,000*l.* (though they could not produce proofs for the whole of that sum), and would not produce their accounts though obliged to by treaty. In 1738 contention had already run so high that La Quadra had excluded their business from the Convention, and had made a declaration on December 31/January 10, 1738–9, to Keene that his

Majesty might suspend the Assiento, unless the South Sea Company paid the 68,000*l.* at once. The South Sea Company replied by a defiant refusal to pay the sum in question or to produce their accounts. Eventually on May 6/17, 1739, this attitude produced a declaration from La Quadra (Villariàs) that the Assiento was suspended. Nothing contributed more to the eventual wreckage of all negotiation than this affair, and the complication of the business of a private company with the interests of the two nations was extremely objectionable.

The King of Spain, being very poor, wanted to get the 68,000*l.* in order to use it to discharge some of the debt of 95,000*l.* to the English Government. When he could not get the money from the private company he suspended the Assiento (which was a national treaty) and thus irritated the English Government by suspending a national treaty in deference to his private quarrel with the merchants of the South Sea Company. But the blame certainly did not rest wholly with the Spanish King. Keene, at least, who had once been an agent of the South Sea Company, and was now their representative in Spain, thought their conduct wrong, short-sighted, and even dishonest. 'Other Countries and Companies would have given as large a sum as what is askt [68,000*l.*] for the goodwill of a Court to let them carry on a winkt-at Commerce, but our Directors would not so much as bribe the Court of Spain with its own Money, as They might have done some time ago. Tho' now all is over, and Spain is now so disgusted at the *crambe repetita* They' (South Sea Company) 'sent me, when Geraldino told them I had full Powers, that she will never lend an ear to any further Representations till she hears the money chink.'[1] He thought 'this affair would bring us into

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 133, Jan. 1739, K. to Conraud (*cp.* Mr. Armstrong, p. 286). A letter of Horace Walpole's, July 21/Aug. 1, 1738 (*vide supra*, note 1, p. 204), Trevor MSS. p. 20, makes it clear that in the case of an Assiento, illicit trade in connection with it was inevitable, even though it might be entirely suppressed elsewhere. The point is, then, that Newcastle was willing to suppress the illicit trade of interlopers, but knew that some such smuggling was inevitable

an unlucky scrape'; and complained to Newcastle that the South Sea Company would make no concessions.[1] He confided to Stone on the same day, April 13/24, that he expected 'a thundering answer to my offices in favour of the S. Sea Company.'[2] He got it on May 6/17, when La Quadra suspended the Assiento, as above described. A last hope that the English Ministry might put pressure on the fire-eating directors flickered out, and Newcastle on May 8/19 wrote that the 'Resolution of the South Sea Company' was one of the causes of the Spanish refusal to pay the 95,000*l.* to the National Government of England.[3]

Having dealt with all the points of dispute—including that connected with the South Sea Company—we can now appreciate the value of the opposition criticism, which was heaped upon the Convention. The real point of the innumerable petitions and the like (which poured in upon a harassed Government) was that the Convention had concluded nothing, had resulted in nothing, that all wrongs of British subjects were still unredressed. But the Convention had in fact brought us a promise of payment of 95,000*l.*, and that in itself was an admission by Spain of the wrongs done to British subjects, and an augury of future peace.[4] As a basis for negotiation the Convention had great merits, and offered every prospect of a speedy and sincere settlement of all outstanding difficulties. The contention that the Ministers were

in the case of the Company, *cp.* Carteret, Speech, March 1, 1739, *Parl. History*, x. 1104. The dangers of relying too much on this argument are forcibly pointed out by Hoadley, Bishop of Salisbury, *ibid.* p. 1127. For general details about the South Sea Company's affairs, etc. at this time *vide* Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 33,032, ff. 218–28, 277–82, etc.

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 133, K. to N. 'Apart'; *cp.* also *ibid.*, Jan. 13, 'Private and particular,' K. to N.

[2] *Ibid.* 13, Ap. 133/24, K. to Stone.

[3] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 134, N. to K. May 8, 'Private and particular to be opened by himself.'

[4] *Vide* the admirable speech of the Earl of Cholmondley in the Lords, March, 1739. *Parl. Hist.* vol. x. pp. 1091–1102. It is difficult to know how far to give confidence to these Parliamentary utterances, but in these debates independent testimony occasionally confirms the opinions of the speakers, *e.g.* Hare MSS. pp. 242, *sqq.*, *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* xiv. pt. ix. London, 1895.

truckling to Spain was untrue, because it was owing to Haddock's fleet as much as to Keene's diplomacy that La Quadra's signature had been affixed to the Convention. The arguments that the Right of Search and other subjects were not touched upon in the agreement were utterly beside the point, because the Ministers had in no way abandoned these claims, but had in fact signed the Convention, as the best mode of securing their future acknowledgment.[1] This fact, the Opposition could not understand, and it may be admitted that it was difficult to explain it. None the less, the appeals to the fame of Elizabeth, to the great name of Oliver, to the passions of England and the barbarities of Spain—were so much empty beating of the wind. A government which had coerced Spain was not humiliated; a Convention which announced the concessions of Spain, and which was but the prelude to a definite treaty, could not be treated as a surrender of British rights. The real evil did not lie with the Spanish Convention, but with the English Constitution. As long as British liberty prescribed that incomplete negotiations of the most delicate character should be submitted to a noisy and ill-informed assembly, British policy could hardly prosper. Nations are as sensitive about the criticism of treaties as individual writers about the criticism of their works, and the situation might not inaptly be compared to that in the *Critic*. An author produces his play before a row of critics, who interrupt it as it proceeds, and wither it with their sarcasms. In the play which Walpole's Ministry now produced for the benefit of Parliament, Carteret and Pitt occupied the places of Dangle and Sneer.

Debates began in February 1739, but the issue was not really joined till March. It then became violent enough, and Francis Hare spoke of it as the greatest party struggle there

[1] *Vide* the papers of this period *passim*, but especially Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,406, ff. 55–6, Oct. 22, 1738, Claremont, Newcastle to Hardwicke: 'the nstructions should go at the same time that we send back the Treaty, that it may appear that tho' we consented to their *alterations* as immaterial, we still intended to insist upon the freedom of navigation in a proper manner;' *vide* also Add. MSS. 32,800, f. 280, Keene and Castres to Newcastle, Ap. 23, 1739.

had been since the Revolution. Carteret in the Lords displayed a large grasp of the whole question; Argyle was violent and rhetorical; in the Commons Pitt was ardent, Pulteney vehement, and Wyndham venomous. Their views have already been outlined, as appeals to British honour, to British justice, and to British interests, and are too well-known to need discussion here. It will be more to the point to reproduce the opinions of the English plenipotentiaries upon them, and to show how far they produced an effect on Spanish policy. De Castres, Keene's brother-plenipotentiary, treated the Opposition with great contempt, and thought that the Patriots were infinitely surprised and displeased to find the Convention no worse. Keene, having regard to Spain, took a graver view. 'They' (the Spanish Ministers) wrote he, 'are but too well informed of all that passes' (the delay in our full powers, etc.) 'thanks to our Patriots who by bawling for the honour of our nation strip it of its weight and dignity as I too sensibly [*keenly* erased] feel to my sorrow. Every scurrilous Pamphlet and Paper is sent hither translated, and you may judge how pleased they must be at seeing themselves treated so *cavalièrement.* D[n] la Quadra, as he is called, has condoled himself with D[n] Keene on this doleful occasion.'[1] Seven months later Keene assured Sir Robert Walpole that 'the Opposers make the War.'[2] None the less, despite all these protestations, it is conceivable that the Spanish Court might have overlooked irresponsible utterances of the Opposition, if only Newcastle had been able to do so. It is almost certain that the measures (which the Duke now took) were directly due to the influence of popular opinion; it is quite certain that they caused the war. Spanish sincerity had been proved by the disarmament of Spanish

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 133, Ap. 24, Keene to Stone; *cp.* also Francis Hare's description, pp. 240 *sqq.* Hare MSS., *Hist MSS. Comm. Rep.* xiv. App. ix., London 1895. 'The Patriots were resolved to damn it, before they knew a word of it, aud to inflame the people against it, which they have done with great success.'

[2] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,406, f. 158, September 30, 1739, Newcastle to Hardwicke.

ships, English by the significant act of January 29, 1739, when Admiral Haddock was ordered 'forthwith to repair to England with the Squadron of His Maj. ships under your Command.'[1] On March 10, this order was deliberately revoked. 'You are hereby required and directed, (*Notwithstanding any former orders*) *to remain with the Squadron of His Majesty's Ships under your command at Gibraltar.*'[2] The date of this order is highly suggestive, it is that of the last day of the Convention debate in the Commons. As early as February 24, Newcastle had written to Hardwicke, 'We must yeild [*sic*] to the times,'[3] and his subsequent action did not belie his words. The whole tenor of his policy indeed shows that he turned with every popular breath, but this alone is not sufficient to explain why this grave decision was taken. There were other men in the Ministry besides Newcastle, men not so impressionable or so anxious to yield to the times; even as late as March 8 Walpole had proudly declared 'I am resolved . . . to let no popular clamour get the better of what I think is for my country's good' (*Parl. Hist. x.* 1291). The decision, in which he acquiesced two days after this utterance, placed peace in such hazard that perhaps he would have permitted neither popular clamour nor Newcastle to force him into it, had there not been another factor in the situation—and that was France.

Ever since the signature of the *Pacte de Famille* in 1733 (the substance of which had been revealed to England in February 1734), Newcastle had been nervously anxious about French relations with Spain. Immediate danger had been averted, and the hatred of Elizabeth Farnese for Fleury was so obvious that during 1737 even Newcastle realised that

[1] P.R O. *Admiralty Out Letters*, vol. 55, p. 370.

[2] P.R.O. *Admiralty Out Letters*, vol. 55, p. 389 (italics my own). The best contemporary discussion of the counter orders question is in Hare's MSS. p. 249, *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* xiv. App. pt. ix. Hare knew and sometimes talked with Sir R. Walpole (p. 246), and his evidence and judgment are equally entitled to respect.

[3] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,406, f. 111: 'as far as is consistent at least with our own point' (*i.e.* alteration of the forms of the Resolution with reference to the Convention with Spain).

the *Pacte de Famille* was waste paper. When on August 21, 1738 (O.S.) Newcastle had hinted to Keene to sound La Quadra as to the possibility of an alliance between England and Spain, he had clearly in mind Spanish estrangement from France.[1] On January 26/February 6, 1739 he renewed these hints to the same purpose, but added as a postscript that his hopes were faint, as he had just heard of the good relations which the new French Ambassador was establishing with the Spanish Court.[2] La Marck, who had superseded Champeaux at Madrid, was a true courtier, difficulties and even impossibilities disappeared before his address; Elizabeth began to think favourably of the Cardinal, France and Spain to approach one another. On February 22 La Marck's politeness had its reward and the negotiation of a match 'between Don Phelipe and the eldest daughter of France' was announced.[3] Keene writing to Newcastle the next day announced this intelligence, said that he had 'never had any reply to my Hints on this head that was worth His Majesty's notice,' and suggesting that an Anglo-Spanish alliance was now hopeless and a Franco-Spanish one extremely probable. He gave no decisive evidence, but a deduction from a marital union to a diplomatic one was natural. This letter reached London on March 4, in sufficient time to clinch the Ministerial decision.[4] Hence while fear of the

[1] *Vide supra.* Keene had suspicions of French interference between England and Spain so early as May 29, 1738, *vide* letter of that date, 'most secret,' K. to N., P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* 130, and more important *vide ibid.* 131, K. to N., Segovia, August 2, 'most private,' where Keene hints at a projected alliance between Spain and France as having taken place in June 1738 (*viae* also note 2, p. 19). Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 19,036, f. 1, has a memoir drawn up for the English Government on the state of military force, revenue and gallies of *France and Spain*, June 1738.

[2] P.R.O., *S.P.F.* Spain, vol. 134, January 26, 1739, N. to K.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. 133, February 12/23, 1739.

[4] B.M. Add. MSS. 23,803, f. 121, Harrington to Robinson, March 6/17, 1739 [interesting as written before the decision of March 10]. 'What' [was] said to you concerning the communication of a French Treaty with Spain proceeds from a mistake, nothing of that kind having past, but I may acquaint you in confidence that His Majesty has certain information of a Treaty of Commerce now actually on foot between those two Crowns, which is intended

mob in England drove Newcastle, fear of the Cardinal in France appears to have driven Walpole, to this momentous decision of March 10, 1739.

It is possible, though extremely unlikely, that the British Ministry were unaware of the effect that their counter-orders to Haddock were likely to produce upon Spain. If so they were soon undeceived; Don Geraldino remonstrated within ten days from its issue 'upon the Report, that Orders were sent to stop the Fleet, and expressed his apprehension that his Court would be alarmed at it, and imagine that this new Resolution (*as he called it*) might proceed from an Alteration of Measures.'[1] This assumption that the issue of Counter-Orders was an idle rumour, this bashful pretence of ignorance was surprising even for Newcastle. Unfortunately for the ducal innocence, the Admiralty Records already quoted prove that Counter-Orders were issued, and remain to abash him in the eyes of posterity. None the less, on this occasion as on many subsequent ones, Newcastle cheerfully instructed Keene to deny the fact of the Counter-Orders and to give pacific assurances. But unfortunately after such an action pacific assurances were not convincing. Spain had had enough of Haddock's threats in 1738, she had showed her sincerity by disarming her fleet in 1739, and now she was once more menaced. Even Montijo, the truly moderate and reasonable, told Keene he could not understand how the Conferences could begin 'in the capital of Spain, whilst we [England] are upon Their Coasts, with our Matches ready lighted to fall upon them.'[2] La Quadra (now Marquis de Villariàs)

to be concluded and will no doubt be followed by an offensive and defensive Alliance.' *Vide* also P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* 134, March 20, N. to K. 'Private and Particular to be opened by Himself.' This letter goes farther than Harrington's, and expresses a keen conviction that a Franco-Spanish alliance *may* already have been signed. Brit. Mus. Ad. MSS. vol. 32, 800, f. 215, Newcastle to Waldegrave, March 20, 1739, 'Private and particular in cypher, to be opened by himself,' shows clearly that Newcastle entertained the gravest suspicions as to a Franco-Spanish Treaty, but that, despite disturbing intelligence from Waldegrave, absolutely definite proof of such a Treaty was not to hand.

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 134, March 20 (O.S.), Whitehall, 'most private.'

[2] *Ibid.* vol. 133, May 4 (N.S.), K. to N., private.

said to Keene on April 13/24 that his assurances might be all very well, but 'what air does it carry in publick, and what can the world judge of it, unless it be that Spain is to be fright'ned and menaced into such measures as England shall require of her?. . . Perhaps the [Spanish] King would have been much more inclined to facilitate the future negotiation,' etc.[1] Keene strove to soften him, and wrote plainly to Newcastle that 'They [the Spaniards] will be ashamed either to trust to our word, or to discover their lightness in having altered their military Measures before the departure of Admiral Haddock, by being obliged to renew them.' On April 23/May 4, Villariàs reopened the question to Keene, who vainly sought to appease him. Keene wrote that the Gentlemen of the [Spanish] Admiralty were 'uneasy as they have given Orders for unarming the Ships that were got in a Readiness for all Events, before the Convention was signed,' but do not appear yet to have countermanded them.[2] To re-arm the Spanish Fleet was for the Spanish Government to confess publicly that they had been duped in negotiation and bullied by Haddock. The situation thus rapidly became impossible, for the Spaniards had a shrewd suspicion that Keene was lying when he denied the fact of the Counter-Orders. The two preliminary Conferences, which took place on May 5 and 15, were long and stormy, and when the matter of the Counter-Orders was brought forward by Quintana 'in a muttering stammering manner,' Keene declared it not to be within his competence as a commissioner. On May 6/17 came the final rupture of the Spanish Government with the South Sea Company—a most unfortunate occurrence which contributed greatly to fan the flame. Neither side could now withdraw from their position with honour or safety, England now feared War and would not recall Haddock, Spain feared war and would not therefore pay 95,000*l.* to England just on the eve of it. On May 29 (O.S.) Villariàs is reported by Keene as having told

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 133, April 13/24, 1739 (N.S.), K. to N. *Apart.*
[2] *Ibid.* vol. 133, May 4 (N.S.), K. to N. 'private.'

him that there would be no payment of the 95,000*l.* (due May 25, O.S.) until Haddock's Fleet was withdrawn.[1]

This last communication, which was received by Newcastle on June 7 (O.S.), meant nothing else but war, a fact that must have been obvious to both sides. The Convention had not seemed very glorious to English opinion in any case, but peace became hopeless after the refusal to pay the 95,000*l.*, for the payment of which British Ministers had staked their reputations. English Ministers had a real cause on which to appeal to the public—the breach of the Convention—and that public knew nothing of the part the Counter-Orders had played. That war was recognised as inevitable is clear from the sealed orders issued by the Admiralty on June 11 (O.S.), 1739, to Captain Fanshawe of the *Phœnix*, going to South Carolina. They authorized him 'to commit all sorts of Hostilities against the Spaniards.'[2] On June 14 (O.S.) Newcastle wrote to Keene to decline further conferences, and instructed him privately to spy upon the Spanish Military and Naval preparations. Each side masked its intentions as long as possible, for in this age all things moved slowly, and nations even went to war with the decorous dignity of dancers in a minuet, but before the end of July hostilities in effect began. In August Cardinal Fleury made an attempt to intervene and secure the payment of the 95,000*l.* to England, but, for reasons which will already be clear to us, England regarded French offers as insidious and rejected the proposal. War was actually declared on October 19, Heralds proclaiming it at Temple Bar, the Prince of Wales drinking to its success in a tavern, the steeples rocking, and the crowds shouting. Newcastle, approving 'this little yeilding to times,' and seeing

[1] P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 133, K. to N., Madrid (May 29/June 9), *Apart.* As a proleptic commentary on this *vide* P.R.O. Spain, *S.P.F.* vol. 134, Whitehall, N. to K., May 8 (O.S.), 'private and particular in Cypher to be opened by himself.' Newcastle attributes the evident silence of the Spaniards as to paying the 95,000*l.* to the 'Resolution of the South Sea Co. and the Counter-Orders *supposed to be sent to the Fleet in the Mediterranean*'!! The italics my own.

[2] *Admiralty Out Letters*, vol. 55, p. 445 *sqq.*

things 'in a very melancholy light';[1] and Walpole uttering the bitter and immortal sentence that there would soon be a wringing, not of bells, but of hands.

To sum up briefly the results of our investigation. The deepest cause of the war was unquestionably the selfish policy of Spain. It had never been able to conduct its own slave-trade: it had never failed to irritate any nation undertaking that duty by the Assiento. Such a situation was difficult; on the other hand manuscript sources prove decisively that French and Dutch trading in the West Indies was not open to the same objections as the English or, in other words, show that the latter misused the advantages given them by the Assiento. It cannot be denied that the English gave genuine and admitted cause for reprisal to the Spanish *garda costas*; or that the French and Dutch Governments (who kept their smugglers within due bounds) found that Spanish reprisals were fewer and more promptly atoned for. But, though the matter of Spanish reprisals lent itself to most unjustifiable misrepresentation in England, the fact of Spain's agreement to pay 95,000*l.* shows the genuineness of some of England's claims. Against this must be placed the fact that concession was not all Spanish, and that England's Ministers appear also to have been willing to make serious efforts for the suppression of private interlopers engaged in illicit trade. Here again, then, the difficulties of coming to an arrangement, though real, were not insuperable.

Unpublished records prove again and again the absolute genuineness and seriousness of the attempt to settle all the difficulties outstanding after the signature of the Convention. Both sides made real concessions in the Convention, both sides proved their sincerity immediately afterwards. Spain by disarming her fleet, England by projecting an alliance between the signatory Powers. It can further be established that both sides intended to make real efforts in the near future, in order to settle all further problems on the

[1] Newcastle to Hardwicke, Sept. 30, 1739; Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,406, ff. 159.

basis of this preliminary agreement. Their task was, however, made much harder by the unfortunate interference of the South Sea Company. On the abstract rights of the other questions discussed it appears that Spain was, in the main, in the right. Keene, the most moderate and best informed of English negotiators, supported Spain on the right to cut logwood in Campeachy Bay; Newcastle certainly blundered as to the Treaties with reference to the Right of Search; about the limits of Georgia even the Duke himself had his doubts. None the less, there was still a possibility of adjusting these respective claims, because England could offer a suppression of the private smuggling trade as an equivalent for concessions from Spain in other directions. All this proves that the attitude of the English Opposition was mistaken, and that it was untrue to say that England's commercial interests or honour had been sacrificed. Conciliatory England's Ministers may have tried to be, especially in minute points, but as to the essentials they stood firm enough. much too firm to enable them to plead the abstract justice of their cause.

'It was not the proceedings in Parliament, Sir, that precipitated us into that War [*i.e.* of 1739], but the truckling submissions of our Ministers for many years before, and the trash of treaties they had concluded were such, that a war was become absolutely necessary *before* the Parliament interposed . . . . it was apparent that our Ministers were resolved to sacrifice both our trade and navigation in the American Seas, rather than go to War.'[1] So spoke Henry Bathurst in 1750 and none of his statements, considered in the light of documents, appears to be true. The Ministers had not truckled to Spain, they were not prepared to sacrifice our trade and navigation; peace appeared to be almost certain until Parliament intervened. Newcastle's deference to Parliament and to public opinion is too obvious, the fateful despatch of the Counter-Orders coincides too closely with the date of the Parliamentary Debate on the Convention, to prevent anyone

[1] *Parl. Hist.* xiv. p. 698.

denying that popular and Parliamentary agitation was the main factor in causing the War. In the main, therefore, the old contention of Burke that the War was unjust, that it was provoked by opposition clamour, and was 'the fruit of popular desire' appears to be true.[1]

None the less, unpublished records usually have a secret or two in their folios to qualify or modify simple explanations and to prevent the ascription of single causes to great events. In this case they clearly prove that fear of France joining forces with Spain at least influenced the decision as to the Counter-Orders, and that dread of a Bourbon *Pacte-de-Famille*, as well as of an English mob, helped to drive the British Ministry into war. Fear of France may not have been the main factor, but it certainly was an important subsidiary one in causing the war, and England's suspicion of French alliance with Spain is significant of the new age. Until March 10, 1739, it was a possibility that England and Spain might work on parallel lines in America, to the exclusion of France. After March 10, 1739, it was inevitable that France and Spain would eventually work together in America to the exclusion of England. The logic of events associated the two Bourbon Powers, brought them to two more *Pactes-de-Famille*, to their humiliations in 1763, and their triumphs of twenty years later. The first act of an eighty years' struggle was rung up in 1739, the curtain fell for the last time in the last months of 1823, when the downfall of Franco-Spanish influence in America was finally decreed.

Horatio Walpole was not far wrong when he stated in Parliament that England could hardly contend against the

[1] Burke, 'First Letter on a Regicide Peace.' He says that he studied the original documents concerning certain important transactions of those times, but he did not study them enough to convince himself that Jenkins' ear was no 'fable.' He says that many of the principal actors in producing that clamour afterwards conversed with him, and that none of them, no not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct! No doubt he conversed with Pitt, who repented in public in 1751 (*Parl. Hist.* xiv. pp. 798–803), Compare his more private repentance in 1757, Brit. Mus. Stowe MSS. 256, ff. 282–304; of which transcripts are printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* x. App. i. pp. 212–21.

two Bourbons single-handed, and the result was always a balanced contest. England triumphed over the two allies for a moment in 1763, only to fall prostrate in 1783. Between 1763 and 1807 she struggled hard once more, but failed in her last chance of securing dominion on the South American continent. England could baffle France, but Spain overweighted the balance, and, if a real equilibrium was to be found, an ally in the New World must be sought. This counterpoise was first found in 1823—not indeed in an ally, but in an independent helper against Franco-Spanish interference in the New World. In September of that year Canning acting for England, bade France interfere in the New World at her peril; in December Monroe and Adams, on behalf of the United States, gave warning both to France and Spain, and clinched the Englishman's argument. Bourbonism in its two branches was at length met in the New World by Anglo-Saxondom in its two branches, and the result was the entire defeat of the two Latin Powers and the dissolution of that once formidable union, which had first seriously threatened the English dominion in 1739.

# ENGLISH TRADERS AND THE SPANISH CANARY INQUISITION IN THE CANARIES DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

By Miss LEONORA DE ALBERTI and Miss A. B. WALLIS CHAPMAN, D.Sc. (Econ.)

## I.[1]

THERE is perhaps no historical subject less easy to treat dispassionately than the Inquisition. The tissue of exaggerations that has grown up around it is such that the sole hope of arriving at the truth is to turn to authentic sources, and to draw our own conclusions from them. Perhaps it was with this idea that the late Marquess of Bute, who had acquired a very valuable collection of the archives of the Canary Inquisition, had intended publishing *in extenso* the cases relating to English traders and others. The execution of this plan was unfortunately frustrated by death; but though a search through many volumes of MSS. is rendered necessary for a full study of the subject, the catalogue[2] prepared by Dr. de Gray Birch is probably sufficient to give an intelligent acquaintance with it.

It is a fact frequently overlooked, though pointed out by Sir J. K. Laughton some years ago, that a large number of Englishmen in Spanish prisons were probably not in the first instance detained on the score of religion. Spain during the sixteenth century was involved in war at various times with most of the Western European nations; the Canaries were in consequence the scene of numerous foreign invasions. From

[1] By Miss de Alberti.

[2] Published by Blackwood & Sons.

the date of the discovery of America the islands as lying on the route, and being the last port of call on the outward run, became of geographical importance. Privateers when disappointed of other prey might land to plunder a village, or merely to provision themselves. Drake, himself, made an attempt upon Las Palmas, the seat of the Holy Office, but was repulsed by the Spanish, an incident which has been immortalised by Lope de Vega in his *Dragontea*.

Whatever the reason of their detention in the first instance, whether as prisoners of war or unlicensed traders, the prison registers of the Inquisition during the latter half of the sixteenth century certainly contain a fair number of English names. Prisoners detained in the public gaol would, of course, if they gave offence to Catholic feelings, be transferred to the secret cells pending their trials.

As far as material comfort is concerned it comes as a surprise to discover that the change was usually greatly to the advantage of the prisoner. Even Dr. Lea allows that the secret prisons had the reputation of being less harsh than episcopal or royal gaols, and that the general policy respecting them was more humane and enlightened than that of other jurisdictions, whether in Spain or elsewhere. The same writer quotes instances of imprisoned men uttering heresy in order to be transferred to the secret cells, but he points out that there were ample resources for the use of special rigour when occasion called for its exercise.

The prison registers in Lord Bute's collection, recording as they do the treatment meted out to the prisoners, are among the most valuable of the seventy-six volumes. The cells were inspected every fortnight by the Inquisitors in order to satisfy the requests and hear the complaints of the prisoners. For the most part the entries concerning the English prisoners are to the effect that they are well treated and require nothing, occasionally they complain of a shortage of bread and water, or ask for some articles of clothing. One Englishman complains that the wine supplied him is occasionally too much diluted with water. Sometimes there

is a request for a change of companion or cell, and occasional complaints of the verminous state of some of the cells. When a request was considered reasonable, a marginal note is entered instructing the alcaide or governor to comply with it. In cases of sickness, also, the Inquisitors showed praiseworthy humanity ; in some instances the doctor was required to order a special diet, in more serious cases the prisoner was removed to the hospital, or to a private house for special care. Prisoners were sometimes allowed their liberty during the day to earn their living in the town, only returning to the cells at night ; at other times it was considered advisable to support them at the expense of the Holy Office if they were without means. In fact, the volumes show throughout a humane desire on the part of the Inquisitors that imprisonment in the secret cells, which were not intended to be punitive prisons, should be as lenient as possible. It must, however, be remembered that in the case of Spaniards the disgrace attaching to this form of imprisonment added very considerably to its terrors.

The chief grievance of the prisoners, and one which was peculiarly heavy in the case of traders, was the long delay in the settlement of their cases. The different stages through which a case had to pass before being received to 'proof,' and then on again to 'conclusion,' made a trial before the tribunal of the Holy Office a long and tedious business. The Inquisitors did not, as has been sometimes stated, hurry their victims to death, even though in some instances it might have been more merciful had they done so.

Supervision in the prisons does not appear to have been very strict, and, after bringing the rations, possibly the gaoler did not further trouble about the prisoners. This would appear to be a fact from evidence given by an English prisoner, Hugh Wingfield, of the ship *St. Gabriel*, 1592. This man gave an account of how, having found means of opening the doors, the witness and others would issue invitations for their fellow-prisoners to meet at meal times in each other's cells. This seems to have continued for some little

time, and on one occasion as many as fourteen prisoners, including a friar, supped together, until the noise of their carouse was heard by the alcaide and the friendly gatherings were put a stop to. There is no mention of punishment for this breach of prison rule, and when brought before the Inquisitors the chief anxiety of the authorities was to discover whether the prisoners had consulted with one another on the state of their respective cases, or had prepared a common ground of defence. The prisoner Hugh Wingfield, when questioned on this point, denied that any mention of their cases was made, but that the prisoners had merely expressed their belief and hope that they would be treated with the leniency for which the tribunal was famed in Spain.

It is practically impossible to give a decided opinion as to what extent Englishmen detained in the islands were left unmolested by the Holy Office provided they gave no offence to Catholic feelings. There are allusions to English prisoners in the public gaols described as pirates and Lutherans, so that it would seem, speaking broadly, that Protestantism alone did not suffice to ensure a transference from the royal gaol to the secret cells, but that some special offence and denunciation was necessary. A sailor before the Holy Office might easily, and sometimes did, implicate the whole crew of his ship, by a description of the Protestant services performed on board in which all had taken part ; the Inquisitors by some singular process of reasoning then considered themselves justified in summoning the men to appear before them to account for their motives in taking part in such services, and also to discover whether they had assisted in attacking and seizing Catholic ships. It must be confessed that the Englishmen who came before them would have had no scruple whatever in attacking His Catholic Majesty's ships, or plundering his subjects, if occasion offered, though perhaps not primarily as Catholics. Some Protestants detained in the Islands seem to have considered it safer to profess conversion or to demand instruction in the Catholic Faith ; but

it is doubtful whether this was the wisest course, as there was no lack of persons ready to denounce a convert on the appearance of backsliding, and apostasy was a far different offence from heresy. Witnesses in the case of John Huer 1586 (? Ware) stated that they were compelled to call the accused a 'Lutheran dog' before he could be induced to go to Mass; and as he had been instructed in the Catholic Faith at his own desire, this reluctance was neither discreet nor edifying. The average Spaniard of the day had a horror of heresy, a horror intensified by the Edicts of Faith, which called upon every individual under pain of excommunication to assist the Holy Office in the detection of any offence against faith, a term which was capable of a very wide interpretation. In those days of change the Inquisitors never lost sight of the fact that Englishmen appearing before them might have been at one time Catholics, or at least have had opportunities of instruction in the Catholic Faith, and the accused were subjected to a searching cross-examination on this head. They were eager to discover also the exact tenets of the new creed, and the precepts it imposed upon its adherents, an eagerness which was only equalled by the prisoners' reluctance to satisfy their legitimate curiosity. Some professed a profound ignorance of the services and prayers of the English Church, while laying stress upon the fact that the *Credo* and *Pater* were much used, in which they apparently felt on safe ground. Michael James stated that a clergyman in surplice and cassock would stand up in a high place and read something out of a book, but he could not say what. Others, who asserted that they were Catholics at heart, and only conformed outwardly to the new creed through stress of circumstances, gave a fairly accurate description of the English Church. Others spoke of a precept of yearly confession and communion, and one man stated that though he was told that his sins were forgiven, he did not believe it as the clergyman was a married man. A number of the men declared that the chief precepts of the new church were to attend prayers twice a day, and abstain

from meat on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays throughout the year, and during the whole of Lent. Michael James stated that during the latter season only bread and beer were allowed on the three days mentioned, and fish on the remaining days, including Sundays.

From many of their answers it is apparent that the Englishmen, as a general rule, were more concerned to make apparent the excellencies of the old faith than to give a true description of the new. John Huer (? Ware) when asked for a definition of Lutheranism replied that it consisted in non-attendance at Mass and in stealing. The same man, who was cook at the Dominican monastery, being questioned by a friar as to what was taught in England, answered : ' To eat, drink, and follow one's will.'

As might be anticipated, the cases terminated, with one exception, by the men professing conversion to Catholicism and demanding instruction. They would be then admitted to reconciliation, which, however, did not preclude punishment. The sentences varied according to the prisoner's guilt and his conduct during the trial. They usually included a term of years in the galleys, a certain number of lashes, confiscation of property, and appearance in an ' Auto ' wearing the insignia of reconciliation. This last punishment, to a Spaniard, at least, had lasting consequences, because of the disabilities and disgrace it entailed. According to Mr. Lea, in 1605 the Suprema warned all the tribunals that foreigners coming forward voluntarily and confessing their errors were not to be imprisoned, but were to be welcomed, their reconciliation was to be in the audience chamber, without san benito or confiscation, and with spiritual penances only. They could then receive sacramental absolution. In all cases a voluntary confession was considered to show true repentance and to be deserving of more lenient treatment.

Instances of torture are rare, as it was only used to extract a confession, or when the prisoner appeared to be lying. A frank confession of Protestantism would not meet with wanton torture, though it might on occasion meet with death.

Pending the execution of their sentence prisoners were frequently allowed their liberty within the city, after they had been duly sworn not to leave it, which, of course, did not prevent them from seizing the first opportunity of stealing a boat and escaping. Escapes from the islands were frequent, and in cases of recapture the trials were recommenced with a view to ascertaining whether the prisoner's motive in escaping had been a desire to leave the Church, or merely to evade punishment. John Ware and Edward Stride, when recaptured, brazenly asserted that they had merely wished to see their friends, and had no desire either to abandon the Church or escape punishment, and that they had, in fact, worn their san benitos until the heavy seas and rains washed them off. The Inquisitors seem, strangely enough, to have believed it. The prisoners, however, escaped again with success. If not recaptured, fugitives were burnt in effigy to mitigate the scandal caused by their apostasy, which was then taken for granted.

In the 'Auto' of July 1587, of which the Spanish historian, Millares, gives an account, thirteen English sailors were reconciled, and one burnt in person. The latter was George Gaspar, a tailor, twenty-four years of age. According to Millares, Gaspar, while confined in the public gaol, probably as an unlicensed trader, ostentatiously turned his back on a crucifix and image, and fixed his eyes on the moon in prayer. When asked his reasons for doing so he replied that images and crucifixes were made by the hands of sinners, and it was, therefore, futile to pray before them; that the Saints had been sinners while on earth, and sometimes greater sinners than their supplicants, and, therefore, they were useless as intercessors before God. With untimely zeal he further attacked the doctrine of the Real Presence and other Catholic dogmas. He refused to abjure when brought before the Inquisitors, and was ultimately delivered to the civil authorities to be burnt. He stabbed himself in prison the night before the 'Auto,' but was still living when sentence on him was executed.

The next public 'Auto' took place in May 1591, when twenty-three fugitives were burnt in effigy, having been successful in their escape; four of these were English sailors, Richard Newman, Edward Stevens, John Ware and Edward Stride. About this time Don Claudio de la Cueva was sent out as Visitador by the Suprema. He seems to have been over zealous in proceeding against foreign ships and sailors, and in October 1593 he received a sharp rebuke from headquarters. Orders were given to him not to take action against masters of ships or sailors, or other foreigners, nor to sequestrate their ships and property unless he received information that they had offended against the Catholic faith within Spanish dominions, or while their ships were at anchor in the ports of the islands. He was further ordered to expedite as much as possible the cases then pending. The Suprema pointed out that before his appointment commerce with foreigners had been tolerated, that the Governor, whose province it was, was competent to judge as to which nations were to be admitted to deal with the islands, that the matter was of the deepest importance, and that before making so many arrests he should have consulted the Suprema at Seville.

The question of dealing with English traders and residents was always a delicate one, even after the Treaty of London in 1604 had safeguarded English subjects against molestation on the score of religion, provided they gave no offence to Catholic feeling. From the number of English residents in the islands, and the flourishing commerce in malvesies, it is evident that there was an earnest desire on the part of the Inquisitors to avoid a breach with England, while at the same time they were still more in earnest in their determination to prevent Protestantism from obtaining a footing in the islands, and they showed no hesitation in arresting any Englishman suspected of violating the conditions of the Treaty. Thus as late as the year 1700 there is an interesting case against Edmund Smith, for ten years English Consul at Orotava, who was charged with ill-treating English converts to Catholicism, and of deterring others from the same course

by persuasion and threats, sending some out of the islands in his anxiety to prevent their conversion. The Consul pleaded in defence that his known kindness to Catholics, especially ecclesiastics, had brought on him the suspicion of his countrymen, some of whom had represented to the King the advisability of removing him from office on account of his tendencies to Catholicism. The evidence against him was, however, considered conclusive, and he was sentenced to banishment from the islands for the space of eight years, and to the payment of a fine of 200 ducats.

## II.[1]

The account given above of the vicissitudes of English traders in the Canary Islands and of their lenient treatment by the Holy Office suggests the question whether that leniency might not in part be due to the fact that these traders were old dwellers in the Canaries, and had connections among persons of Spanish descent inhabiting the Islands; it can at any rate be shown that the intercourse between England and the Canaries had been sufficiently close to make this possible.

It is certain that up to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the English trade with the Canaries formed part of the diplomatic relations between England and Spain. At first, that trade seems to have been conducted through Spain itself. As early as 1526 certain merchants of Bristol carried on a trade with the Canaries through St. Lucar. They sent thither coarse and fine, broad and narrow coloured cloths, and obtained in exchange dyes, drugs, sugar and skins of kids which they transported to the West Indies;[2] apparently, at this time, without objection on the part of the Spanish authorities. Hence it seems probable that the grant of Charles V. (1538) to the English merchants trading to Andalusia and St. Lucar may reasonably have comprised

[1] By Miss Wallis Chapman.

[2] Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc. ed. vol. vi. pp. 124.

trade to the Canaries, since it conferred a right to trade to all parts of the Spanish dominions.[1] There is no ground for supposing that the Canaries were included in the tacit exception of the Indies. On the contrary, the Spanish King showed himself willing to redress any wrongs suffered in the islands by the Englishmen. For instance, in 1552, Thomas Wyndham was taken for a pirate by the inhabitants of Lancerote and attacked by them. He retaliated in kind; but in spite of this the King of Spain made good his losses.[2]

There were English factors and agents in Grand Canary in 1553;[3] and in 1562 Hawkins was said to be already well acquainted with the islands, and—which is more remarkable—to have made friends there 'by his good and upright dealing.'[4]

The commodities in which these early traders dealt were, on the English side, much what they continued throughout the sixteenth century; coarse cloth of various kinds, and coarse thread seem to have been the staple of these exports. In 1558 the goods seized at the houses of two English factors included several pieces of linen and fustian, coloured cloth and satin.[5] The Canaries, on the other hand, do not seem to have fully developed the trade in wine which subsequently made them famous. Palma was apparently the chief wine-producing island, as it continued to be till the end of the sixteenth century. Hawkins reports the wine as better than any in Spain, and declared the grapes to be as big as damsons.[6]

Besides wine, the account of Thomas Nicholas, who was a factor in the Canaries in 1560, mentions among the islands' produce drugs (such as dragon's blood), wheat, and orchel;[7]

[1] Harl. MSS. 36 pp. 25 *sqq.*
[2] Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vi. 139, 40.
[3] *Ib.* ix. 339–46.
[4] Hakluyt Soc.: Hawkins' *Voyages*, ed. Markham, pp. 5–6.
[5] Eliz. St. P. For., 1561, vol. 29, No. 328.
[6] Hakluyt Soc. Hawkins' *Voyages*, ed. Markham, p. 12, and pp. 123–5.
[7] *A Pleasant Description of the Fortunate Ilands, called the Ilands of the Canaries.* See also Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

but the chief product of the Canaries at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign seems to have been sugar, which was chiefly grown in Teneriffe and Palma; there were twelve ingenios for sugar in the latter island,[1] and the use of sugar was so universal that an English factor, Edward Kingsmill, writing in 1561, declared that almost all payments in the islands were made in sugar; and that he himself, although he brought about 2,000 ducats to the Canaries, had never subsequently received as much as 500 ducats cash. As he was defending himself against a charge of exporting money, there may be some exaggeration in these statements; but the sum is striking in contrast with that of 30,000 ducats which he declared to be the value of one only of his transactions.[2]

This last amount is the largest mentioned in connection with English trade at this period. Kingsmill's contemporary, Thomas Nicholas, stated that his masters, Edward Castelyn and Anthony Hickman, well-known Londoners, lost 14,000 ducats by his imprisonment;[3] and at a later date Charles Chester, another victim of the Inquisition, declared that he had lost 4,500 ducats from this cause.[4]

Whatever the importance of the trade, however, it seems to have been endangered immediately on Elizabeth's succession. Apparently the separation of the interests of England and Spain was speedily felt; for in 1559 the two factors mentioned above, Thomas Nicholas and Edward Kingsmill, were both arrested.

The accusation against Kingsmill was that of violating commercial regulations. Besides the charge of exporting money, he was denounced for keeping his books in English instead of in Spanish, as had been directed by a decree in 1554–5. He declared the English books to be simply a

[1] A. Anderson, *Historical Deduction*, ii. 48.
[2] Eliz. St. P. For. Cal. pp. 256–8, No. 412.
[3] *Ib.* pp. 512, No. 407, and 1564, p. 137, No. 411.
[4] *Cecil Papers*, iv. p. 222.

translation for his master's benefit, but he was fined 1,000 ducats.[1]

So far the affair might have happened in any place where, as Kingsmill explained, the judge received two-thirds of the fine; nor does the action of the Colonial authorities in this case appear to have had the full support of the central Spanish Government, which remitted the sentence of banishment at first passed on the defendant, while in 1561 Philip II. wrote to the Canaries in favour of his countrymen.[2]

The religious difficulty, however, was of a more permanent character; it must have seriously hampered English trade in all Latin countries. According to Captain Carlisle, the servants and children of persons engaged in trades to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, 'are forced to denie their owne profession and made to acquaint themselves with that which the Parents and Masters doe utterly deny and refuse.'[3]

Possibly the accession of Elizabeth may have stimulated the English factors to give over their conformity. At any rate, Kingsmill himself was accused of desiring to set up a new religion, 'and every man to live as he would himself,'[4] and his fellow factor, Nicholas, was accused of disrespect for religion, or, by his own account, 'of living according to English law.' He was imprisoned for about three years by the Holy Office, 'seeing neither sun nor moon,' and was sent to Seville before he was released.[5]

Again, in 1562 an English pinnace at the Canaries was seized and searched on the same pretext of religious offences.[6] It is noteworthy that in these cases Philip declined to interfere even so far as to order the restoration of goods

[1] Eliz. Cal. St. P. For. 1561, pp. 256–8, No. 412, and St. P. For. MSS. Vol. 40, No. 340.

[2] Eliz. St. P. For. Cal. 1561, p. 213, No. 354.

[3] Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc. ed. vol. viii. p. 137.

[4] Eliz. For. St. P. Cal. pp. 256–8, No. 412.

[5] He seems to have returned to England and apparently wrote the account of the Canary Islands which appears in Hakluyt's *Voyages*. Eliz. For. St. P. MSS. vol. 40, No. 340, and Eliz. St. P. For. Cal. 1564, p. 137, No. 411.

[6] Eliz. St. P. For. Cal. p. 627, No. 1461.

belonging to other persons which had been in the hands of the prisoners at the time of their arrest, and had therefore been confiscated by the Inquisition.[1]

As time went on, and the hostility of Spain and England increased, the English showed a strong disposition to take matters into their own hands. Thus, when in 1575 Charles Chester was imprisoned in the Canaries on the charge of heresy, his father, a merchant of Bristol, begged leave of Elizabeth to go to the Canaries and seize Spaniards to hold as hostages till his son was freed. He was informed in true Elizabethan fashion that he might do so, if he kept the prisoners in his own ship till 'a resolution was taken.'[2]

Eventually Charles Chester, who had professed himself a Catholic, escaped and came to England, thereby making it impossible that he should again trade to the Canaries.[3]

If religion formed one obstacle to that trade, colonial rivalry formed another. In this matter the English were the aggressors, aided and abetted apparently by the inhabitants of the Canaries themselves. Hawkins made the Canaries his victualling place during his slaving voyages to Africa and thence to the West Indies. Indeed, he was said to have obtained his first information as to the demand for negroes in the West Indies from his friends in the islands.[4] Some of these friends, like Pedro Ponte of Teneriffe and his son Nicholas, were said to have an interest in his ventures and to have supplied him with a pilot on his first voyage to San Domingo.[5] Against this unlawful connection the Spanish Ambassador in England remonstrated in vain; four of the Queen's ships joined in the raid of 1567, and the Queen assured the Ambassador that they would on no account go to the Indies—which he flatly disbelieved. In fact, English trade between the Canaries and the West Indies was becom-

[1] 1561 Eliz. St. P., For. Cal., p. 213, No. 354.
[2] *Sim. Trans.* 1575, p. 495.
[3] *Cecil Papers* (Historical Com. ed.), vol. iv. p. 222.
[4] Hakluyt Soc. *Hawkins' Voyages*, Markham ed., pp. 5–6.
[5] *Sim. Trans.* 1567, vol. i. pp. 660–1.

ing habitual. In 1568 the Spanish Ambassador writes that there were many rich English ships at the Canaries.[1] In the same year John Chilton, an English merchant in Spain, took in lading at the Canaries and sailed for the West Indies.[2] In 1578 Richard Staper, an English merchant in Brazil, wrote to his London correspondent to load a ship at London with Devons and Hampshire 'Karsies,' and send her to the Canaries. There the cloths were to be sold and 15 tons of good wine and six dozen cordovan skins and a quantity of oil were to be taken on board.[3] Possibly the nature of this trade, with few direct returns to England, may account for the fact that the Spanish Company in no way interfered with it.

If however, the enterprise of English residents in the Canaries stimulated international trade, the piratical customs of the Elizabethan adventurers must have injured it. In 1571, a period at which England and Spain were on the point of war, Winter actually attacked Teneriffe;[4] and as time went on, the English fell into the habit of making the Canaries a place of rendezvous when they wished to intercept the Spanish plate fleets. In 1574 special precautions were taken at the Canaries in consequence of the report that Grenville and Champernowne were lying in wait for the treasure ships.[5] Eventually the Spaniards sent men-of-war to escort their fleet from the Canaries, thereby presumably increasing the risks of the English trade with the West Indies.

Despite these difficulties, various Englishmen remained in the Canaries, and some were actually in the Spanish service. In 1577 Elizabeth wrote to the Queen of Spain on behalf of one Richard Grafton, who had lived twenty years in the island, and desired some employment there.[6] Even after the war with Spain actually broke out the English

[1] *Sim. Trans.* 1568, ii. p. 94.
[2] Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc. ed. vol. ix. p. 367.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. xi. pp. 27–8.
[4] *Sim. Trans.* 1571, p. 339.
[5] *Ibid.* 1574, p. 481.
[6] Eliz. For. St. P. Cal. p. 51, No. 66.

factors continued to live in the islands, as is clearly shown by the Records of the Inquisition. In 1598 an Englishman was arrested, in consequence of Cumberland's seizure of Lancerote, on the charge of intending to betray Teneriffe to the English.[1] And in 1595, after Raleigh's attack on Teneriffe, there is a curious mention of the arrest of a youth who was accused of 'being of Plymouth'—which he apparently was—'but the Governor made all well again.'[2]

Still, despite the calm disregard which both Englishmen and Canary Islanders showed for the relations of their respective states, the trade must have diminished. There were, moreover, other reasons for its decadence. About this time the Canary Isles seem to have undergone a series of misfortunes. In 1585 there was a destructive earthquake at Palma. In the following year the Turks took Lancerote. In 1591 their poverty was so great that Philip II. permitted the islanders to send their produce in his ships to the West Indies.[3] Moreover, what had been the staple trade of the islands was certainly decaying. The competition of Barbary, Brazil, and the West Indies was injuring the sugar trade of the Canaries, at least so far as England was concerned. We find the islands sometimes omitted from the lists of places whence sugar was obtained,[4] and even had the trade continued, it would hardly have been profitable. The English now obtained their sugar by cheaper methods than fair trading; the quantity brought into England from Spanish prizes was so great that in 1591 the sugar was said absolutely to be cheaper in London than at Lisbon or the West Indies.[5]

As the sugar trade sank, however, the wine trade probably rose. Palma was already famous for wines, and in Hiero a certain Englishman, John Hill, of Taunton, had planted a vineyard among the rocks.[6] Irrigation was making the

[1] *Cecil Papers*, vol. ix. p. 116.
[2] Eliz. St. P., Dom. Cal. 1595, p. 41, No. 18.
[3] St. P. For. MSS. Spain, bundle 4.
[4] Eliz. Dom. St. P. Cal. 1593, p. 361, No. 52.
[5] Venetian S.P. Cal. 1591, No. 1020. [6] *A Pleasant Description*, &c.

cultivation of the vine more profitable, and in 1587 it was said that a large part of the sugar plantations in the island were being transformed into vineyards.[1] In 1596, 28,000 butts of sack were said to be produced yearly at Teneriffe.[2] There is no precise evidence of the amount of Canary wine consumed in England, but it was evidently a favourite drink. Shakespeare's numerous allusions to it would alone be sufficient proof on this point. In 1580 the quantity brought into Ireland was pleaded as one reason for a reconsideration of the duty on wine.[3] In 1600 an order was given for eighty-four pipes of Canary wine, at £10 10*s.* the pipe, to be provided for Lancaster's East Indian voyage.[4]

How the wine got into England is not clear. Presumably some part of it arrived in the ordinary way of trade, to judge from a list of imports and exports in 1595, in which, with no allusion to difficulties arising from the war, the Canaries are described as supplying Canary wine, Madeira, and sugar, and receiving in return not only coarse cloth (with the exception of Manchester cottons), but lead, dried Newfoundland fish, pilchards, and red herrings.[5] Possibly the eighteen or twenty hulks from the Canaries which arrived at Plymouth in 1599 may have been traders.[6] As in the case of the sugar, a considerable amount of Canary wine was prize of war. In 1597 Cumberland sent home a ship containing among other lading 142 pipes of Canary wine.[7] But a large quantity of goods both from the Canaries and from Spain probably came through St. Malo and Morlaix, and through Bordeaux and Rochelle, with which places the western ports of England —Lyme, Bristol, Plymouth—kept up an energetic trade all through the Spanish war. Their exports were usually cloth, and fish, and Cornish tin; and they received among other

[1] Venetian St. P. Cal. 1587, p. 223.
[2] Purchas *Pilgrimes* (1906 ed.), vol. xvi. pp. 45–9.
[3] *Carew Papers*, 1580, p. 285.
[4] Col. St. P. Cal. (East Indies), 1600, p. 114.
[5] Eliz. Dom. St. P. MSS. 1595, vol. 255, No. 56.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. 272, No 80.
[7] *Ibid.* vol. 263, No. 85.

goods, Seville oil, Madeira and Canary wines.[1] In one way and another, therefore, some degree of trade was probably maintained. In 1601, it is true, its decay was considered as one reason for urging peace with Spain.[2] Nevertheless, the most critical period for English traders and denizens in the Canaries probably ended in 1597, when, possibly as a consequence of the Dutch attack on the island, all Flemish and English prisoners in the 'Holy House' were released.[3]

There is no direct mention of the Canaries in the Treaty of 1604; but it may fairly be inferred that they were included in the articles pledging each country to admit the other to trade and commerce, as before the war. English traffic to the Canaries had long been a recognised fact, not a question to be fought out in distant waters, as was the case with the East and West Indian trade.

[1] K.R. Original Customs A/c 123/24, 46/46, 118/24 &c.
[2] S. P. For. MSS. Spain, Treaty Papers, No. 64.
[3] S.P. For. MSS. Spain, bundle 6, Feb. 1, 1597.

# THE ORIGIN OF THE *REGIUM DONUM.*

By the Rev. CLEMENT E. PIKE, F.R.Hist.S.

*Read December* 17, 1908.

THE *Regium Donum* was a pension paid by the Crown to the Presbyterian Ministers in Ireland. It began in the reign of Charles II., having been promised by that monarch about the middle of October, 1672. After being discontinued in the latter part of this reign, and throughout the reign of James II., it was revived and augmented by William III., again to be discontinued in the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne, and revived for the second time by George I. From this period it was continued until commuted by the Act which disestablished the Irish Church in 1869.

That this pension should have been discontinued by James II. and again by Anne, and revived by William III. and George I., causes no surprise ; but its origination by Charles II. has been regarded by some as an unaccountable event, while the gratified Presbyterian Ministers looked upon it as a very special Providence. It will be the object of the present paper to show how this grant was in accord with the policy of Charles, by considering it in relationship with the state of Ireland at the time, and also with two other events of greater historical importance. These events are the second Dutch war, and the King's Declaration of Indulgence. Before further alluding to them it may be well to state the existing evidence for the grant.

This evidence is somewhat conflicting. The transaction was not one to be blazoned abroad. From a letter of Essex

to Arlington, dated April 17, 1673, it would seem that the Lord Lieutenant was ignorant of it. The item was entered as 'for secret service without account,' and it was only after many years that the general public was made aware of the King's bounty. The first description of it in print is contained in the volume entitled 'An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians in Great Britain and Ireland from the Reformation to the present year 1713, wherein their Steady Adherence to the Protestant Interest, our happy Civil Constitution, the succession of Protestant Princes, the just Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Liberties of the people is demonstrated from Public Records, the best approved Histories, the Confession of their adversaries, and divers valuable Original Papers well attested and never before published. And an answer given to the calumnies of their accusers, and particularly two late Pamphlets, viz., (1) A Sample of True Blue Presbyterian Loyalty, and (2) The Conduct of the Dissenters in Ireland. In three parts; with prefatory address to all her Majesty's Protestant Subjects, of all Persuasions, in Great Britain and Ireland, against the Pretender, on behalf of the Protestant Religion, the Queen, the House of Hanover, and our Liberties. Printed in the year MDCCXIII.'

The quotation of the lengthy title of the volume may be pardoned as it conveys a sufficient description of its contents. It was published without the name of author or publisher, but is said to be the work of James Kirkpatrick. In this volume we have a detailed description of the origin of the Grant which it will be necessary to quote. After arguing that King Charles and his adviser would never have granted such a pension, 'near ten years after Blood's Plot'—unless they had been 'fully satisfy'd of the innocence and loyalty of those in whose favour the Royal Grant was made'—our author proceeds: ''Tis just the world shou'd know the first Motion that was made for that pension, and the *consideration* upon which 'twas granted, and has been now continued these forty years past *without Interruption*, except during the

reign of King James II., and a very few years in the latter end of the Reign of King Charles II., when the *Ruin* not only of *Presbyterians*, but of all *sober Churchmen*, and of the Protestant Religion itself was upon the anvil. The account I am to give of this matter was drawn up by the late Reverend Mr. *Alexander Hutcheson*, Presbyterian Minister at Tannagh-Nive in the County of *Down*; he and three ministers more, viz. Mr. Patrick Adair, Mr. William Semple, and Mr. Archibald Hamilton, did all concur in the same account to the rest of their Brethren, affirming that they had it from Sir Arthur Forbes's own mouth. And they were all men of so much *candour* and *veracity*, as no man of any good character, of whatsoever persuasion, would have called in question the Truth of what any of them said, and far less of a Fact they all agreed in. The account itself I shall give in Mr. Hutcheson's own words, as he left them under his hand, which is as follows :—

'"The truly Honourable Sir *Arthur Forbes*, the stedfast and real friend of the Ministers and people in that part of the Country wrote for *four* Ministers to come to Dublin, that he might communicate to them a matter wherein they were *highly concerned*. The Ministers were Mr. *Patrick Adair*, Mr. *William Semple*, Mr. *Alexander Hutchesson*, and Mr. *Archibald Hamilton*, who all went to *Dublin* about the middle of *October* 1672. The matter was as he related it himself, as followeth : He being a little time before in *London*, and being in conference with the King, who had a great kindness for him (and deservedly), the King amongst other things relating to this kingdom inquired at him concerning the *Presbyterian* Ministers, and people in the North ; how the Ministers lived, and that he had *always been informed*, that they were loyal, and had been sufferers on that account, and were peaceable in their way and carriage, notwithstanding the hardships they were under.

'"Sir Arthur reply'd *'twas a true account his Majesty had heard of them*; and as to their present condition, they lived in no great plenty, tho' they had the *affection* of the people

where they did reside; but that they were not in a *capacity* to afford them a comfortable subsistence, being under many heavy burdens. The King of his *own meer notion* told Sir Arthur that there was *twelve hundred pounds* a year in the Settlement of the Revenue of Ireland, which he had not yet disposed of, but designed it for a charitable use; and he knew not how to dispense it better than by giving it to these Ministers; and told he would forthwith give Order, and desired Sir Arthur to bring the Secretary to him to-morrow, that the order might be passed under the King's Privy-Seal; and the money to be pay'd to Sir *Arthur* quarterly, for secret service, as the *Order ran*; but when the Secretary came to the King, it was found there was only six hundred pounds to be dispos'd of, which he ordered to be paid as is formerly related. Sir Arthur sent for the four ministers, partly to give account of the King's business to them, partly that they *might consider* how to divide it, which they considering apart agreed on this method, that each minister which was in the Country in the year '60 should have an equal proportion, and that the widows and orphans of those who were removed by death might share of the King's Bounty; and when they told this to Sir *Arthur* he was much pleased with what they had done, and ordered the present payment for the first quarter. He also told the Ministers that it would be very becoming them to signify, by a letter of thanks to the King, the sense they had of His Majesty's singular favour; and another letter to Duke *Lauderdale*, a third to Sir *Robert Murray*, who were ready to do what service they could for their countrymen here, and spoke in their favours; all which letters were drawn, and communicated to Sir *Arthur*, and by him sent over to *London*; which were graciously accepted; as both D. *Lauderdale*, and Sir *Robert Murray* signified by their letters to *Sir Arthur* which they desired him to communicate to the Ministers, which he did as opportunity offered." '[1]

According to Dr. Reid in his 'History of Presbyterianism'

[1] *Presbyterian Loyalty, &c.*, pp. 383–5.

this is 'the only account that has been preserved' of the Transaction; but it is not so, for another account of somewhat later date may be found in that curious medley of gossip called 'Analecta,' by R. Woodrow, published by the Maitland Club in four volumes. It is as follows, vol. iv. pp. 231–2 :—'Mr. Francis Hutcheson tells me that his grandfather was a minister in Ireland before the Restoration, and very intimate with the Lord Forbes, afterwards the Earl of Grenard, in Ireland. He was a great courtier in King Charles the Second his reign, and had the management of all Crown revenue in Ireland, and was not unfriendly to the Scots Presbyterian Ministers, and had a particular kindness for Mr. Hutcheson. His grandson tells me he had this story from his grandfather's mouth, and he has heard his father tell it often.

'One day old Mr. Hutcheson was with the Earl of Grenard, and the Earl gave him account what pains he had been at in settling the Civil List; and that now all the Crown rents and revenues were disposed of and collected to proper services, save six hundred pound. On this a thought came in Mr. Hutcheson's mind, which he ventured to propose to the Earl; and this was the occasion and foundation of the Royal Bounty to the Presbyterian Ministers in that kingdom. Mr. Hutcheson ventured to tell the Earl that all the King's friends were provided for and taken a care of; only the Dissenting Ministers, who had been firm Royalists in Oliver's time, were still under incapacity, though they would never join with the usurper, pray for him, or countenance him. That they had been considerable sufferers for their loyalty, and had no small share in forwarding the King's restoration and the allocating of that small matter of six hundred a year, to be divided in small portions among them for the support of their familys, would be an act of generosity and worthy of the King. The Earl knew what Mr. Hutcheson said was fact, and promised to use his interest at Court to get the thing done; and he accomplished it. A warrant was procured for it, and the Dissenters in Ulster had this

all King Charles's time. It was taken from them on King James's accession; and at the Revolution King William, knowing their firmness to the British interest and that of the Reformation, and their being firm supporters of the Government, advanced it to twelve hundred pounds a year, which was exceeding usefull to them, and continued all Queen Anne's time. Upon King George his accession he, knowing their appearances for the Protestant accession when in hazard in the end of the Queen's reign, was soon prevailed upon to add eight hundred pounds yearly to the Royal Gift to the Presbyterian Ministers there, four hundred to the Ministers of the North, and four hundred to the Ministers in the South. He adds that that was punctually paid till the two last years of his reigne; and at his death these were resting, and they continue unpay'd; and nothing has been pay'd of the additional Bounty during this reign, though the former twelve hundred pounds is payed.'

Of these two stories there can be little doubt that the first is the more reliable. The author of 'A History of the Irish Presbyterians' considers the account in 'Analecta' as 'probably the more correct,' and imagines 'Sir Arthur, as a good courtier, represented the King himself, suggesting what he merely consented to do when suggested.'[1] But 'a good courtier' does not tell a lie for the mere pleasure of doing so, and Sir Arthur Forbes could have no object in thus misrepresenting the matter. Moreover, if we make him guilty, Mr. Alexander Hutcheson, from whom the other story indirectly issues, must also be implicated, for according to the author of 'Presbyterian Loyalty' he drew up the document quoted from. But the story in 'Analecta' bears evident marks of inaccuracy on its surface. It is but the remembered conversation with a man who recalls a conversation with his grandfather about an event which had happened fifty years earlier. The statement that Sir Robert Forbes had the management of all the Crown revenue in Ireland is inaccurate, also the statement that the grant was

[1] *A History of the Irish Presbyterians*, p. 82.

paid without any break through the reigns of Charles II. and of Anne. The main sources of Irish revenue, by hearth money, Customs, excise, wine and beer licences, were in the hands of certain farmers whose patent had been granted in 1669 for five years. Without disturbing this arrangement the King had made another bargain with Lord Ranelagh and his partners in 1670 by which his lordship agreed to take over the whole Irish civil and military charges, and all the debts of the king on consideration of receiving the benefit of all that was or should be payable to his Majesty in Ireland for five years. This fact, while it shows the absurdity of the account in 'Analecta,' might seem to invalidate also the narrative in 'Presbyterian Loyalty.'

If Lord Ranelagh could claim the whole revenue, how could Charles dispose of a surplus? In this way. According to the agreement the fixed yearly charge was not to *exceed* £171,843 5*s.* 6*d.*; but as long as he did not exceed this sum Charles might alter the payments as he pleased. Moreover where any annuity, pension, or temporary payment then comprehended in the lists should cease, the same was to be renewed, and to be made payable to such other person or persons, and for such further time as his Majesty should think fit. Apart from obvious inaccuracies in the 'Analecta' account the mere notion that a minister belonging to a persecuted sect should have the assurance to gravely suggest that this sect should be endowed by the Crown is too improbable for belief. We have therefore no hesitation in rejecting the gossip of 'Analecta' in favour of the circumstantial narrative printed in 'Presbyterian Loyalty,' derived from a document drawn up by one of the chief actors in the transaction, and confirmed by three others.

The contemporary evidence for the grant was carefully investigated by the late Dr. Killen, and the result of his research is contained in the following note to his edition of Dr. Reid's work.

I have very carefully investigated the fiscal history of this grant, and with the aid of documents in the Chief

Secretary's office, Dublin Castle, I have ascertained the following particulars respecting it. It first appears in "The Establishment or List, containing all the payments to be made for civil affairs to begin from March 25, 1672," in which it thus entered among the "Pensions and Annuities: Sir Arthur Forbesse, our Marshall of Ireland, for secret service without account, £600." This warrant was in force till 1682, when a new establishment was issued in which this item was omitted, as it is also in that for 1684, the last civil list on record till after the Revolution. This grant, which was strictly a pension, not an endowment, continued therefore in force from 1672 to 1682. But it does not thence follow that it was regularly paid during these ten years, for the warrants provide that the deficiencies in the revenue, which were always very great, should fall upon the pension list; and Mr. Hardinge, the intelligent and obliging Keeper of the Records deposited in the Custom House, Dublin, informs me that among the public accounts he can find only one entry of such a payment having been made—to wit, in the civil list establishment for 1676. This result corroborates a tradition I have heard, that this *Regium Donum* was enjoyed by the ministers for only one year; yet it is spoken of in "Presbyterian Loyalty" as if it had been paid without interruption.'[1] Whether this were so or not it is impossible to say with certainty, but the entry above quoted appears to be the only evidence of the grant in the reign of Charles II.

And now we come to a brief consideration of the King's grant in connection with his general policy, and with the events of the time. To what, we may ask, was this favour due? Is it to be ascribed to an erratic impulse of gratitude and generosity, or to state-craft of no mean order? I think an examination of the circumstances in which it was made will show that it is fully in accord with the general policy of Charles at this time. It is often asserted that he hated the Presbyterians, but it is doubtful whether hatred ever moved

[1] *Reid's History*, vol. ii. pp. 333–5.

him very strongly, and he was not the kind of man to allow any substantial advantage to be sacrificed to such a feeling. He was far too shrewd to underrate the power of Nonconformity, and in the year 1672 it became very necessary that that power should be conciliated. To achieve this object in England the declaration by the King that 'the forcible courses adopted during the past twelve years to secure uniformity in religion' had 'produced little fruit,' and 'that all penal laws against Nonconformists and recusants shall be suspended' was issued on March 15, though privately mooted earlier.[1] Dr. Peter Mews writing to Williamson from Oxford, January 9, assures him that he will make the best use he can of his Majesty's declaration, and predicts that 'if we have a war' the Nonconformists, or as he terms them—'our good friends the fanatics'—'will be gentle spectators.'[2]

The object of the measure is very plainly described by Dr. Butler, in a letter to Williamson dated March 19, suggesting that the licence to Ministers should be extended in various directions, but that none should be allowed to preach without it. 'By this means all will have a dependency on his Majesty; all the Ministers must be gratified, or at least not disobliged if you will have a continued content. If you have the Ministers you have all.'[3]

But the declaration which was to content the English Nonconformists, and by the licensing system render their ministers dependents of the King, was not published in Ireland.

No relief had been legally granted to the Nonconformists there, though a grievance of the Roman Catholic townsmen had been redressed. On February 26 a State paper issued from the Signet Office directed the Lord Lieutenant 'by Act of Council to give a general licence and leave to all subjects whether Roman Catholics or others, as well to hire and purchase from, as also to demise, alien, and grant to each other any houses or lands within any of the cities or towns

[1] *S. P. Dom. Signet Office*, vol. viii. p. 216.
[2] *S. P. Dom. Car.* II. p. 63. [3] *Ibid.* p. 304.

corporate of Ireland and the liberties thereof, as freely as if the aforesaid clause of restraint had not been in the said Act [*i.e.* Clause 36 of the Act of Explanation], forbidding any Papist or Popish recusant to hire or purchase any houses within any corporation in Ireland without licence from the Lord Lieutenant and Council), and that no one shall henceforth be molested and incur any penalty or forfeiture for any breach or non-observance of the said clause, the persons so purchasing taking only the usual oath of allegiance, and further declaring that the said Irish Roman Catholics, formerly inhabitants, natives, or freemen, and such as have rights to be freemen, in any of the said cities or towns, shall be restored to their accustomed privileges, freedoms and immunities, and be peaceably admitted to inhabit and trade in the said respective cities and towns without disturbance, and molestation, as freely as they or their ancestors, or any other did heretofore in the time of Charles I., or as any others do at present without making any distinction, or any pretence of difference of judgment or opinion on matters of religion, and further directing that these letters, and the said Act of Council be forthwith published in all the said cities and towns corporate.' [1]

On March 8 a proclamation reciting the king's letter was duly issued. It was not received with a very good grace by some of the Protestants. The Earl of Orrery expressed his alarm in a letter written on May 23 to the Earl of Anglesey, and shown by that nobleman to the King. Nearly a month later, June 22, Arlington, at the King's command, wrote a severe reply. 'His Majesty bade me write that he wondered you had taken the alarms so hot of troubles likely to arise in Ireland on the publication of his indulgence towards the Roman Catholics to live in corporate towns, when the Lord Lieutenant had given him no kind of notice thereof. He much doubts that your excess of precaution and distrust, putting the parties in jealousy of each other, may create troubles that neither designed.' [2]

[1] *S. P. Dom. Signet Office*, vol. viii. p. 216.
[2] *S. P. Ireland, Car. II.* 331, No. 89.

The troubles were not long in coming, and the first business which that painstaking statesman, the Earl of Essex, had to determine on his arrival at Dublin on August 5 was a disturbance at Galway occasioned by the attempt of the Roman Catholic townsmen to assert their newly recovered freedom to elect magistrates. 'It being the first business between the English and Irish that had come before him,' Essex sent a narrative of the affair with the petitions of the rival parties to Arlington and requested his advice. The petition of the aggrieved Catholics contains the more vivid narrative and describes the feeling of their opponents. The Mayor, it appears, on the 1st of August, 'the usual day for the election of magistrates had taken the precaution to send for 'two or three files of soldiers from the forts' who 'made a guard,' 'and after the Mayor entered, fell on, beating and battering the petitioners in sad measure, insomuch as several pikes have been broken in the petitioner's pates, and particularly in the petitioner John Bodkin's pate.' Moreover, 'Captain James Brown,' a freeman, is reported to have said, 'Who can,' meaning his most sacred Majesty, 'make them free without an Act of Parliament?' While another freeman is said to have maintained that 'No proclamation whatsoever will make them free with us.'

While the Roman Catholics and Protestants were thus contending in the South the Presbyterians, who had increased in power and audacity, were giving trouble in the North. The dogged determination of these sturdy settlers made them a formidable force even apart from their number, which was by no means inconsiderable. Sir William Petty, in his 'Political Survey of Ireland,' which treats of this year 1672, estimates their number as 100,000. Essex about a year later in a letter to Arlington, written October 12, 1673, estimates the number as 'not fewer than fourscore or a hundred thousand men fit to bear arms,' clearly an exaggeration. These sturdy Nonconformists had greatly offended the Bishop of Derry by erecting a large meeting-house within the walls of the City, and within two or three doors of the Bishop's

mansion house, and he complains in a petition to the Lord Lieutenant that in his absence 'attending his Excellency's arrival in Dublin, they assembled therein on the Lord's Day, 27th July last, in a very great number, no magistrate, or officer daring to control them, many of the mean and ordinary sort of people being invited and flocking out of the country to them; whereas the petitioner, not only out of a pastoral care of his diocese, but in loyalty to his Majesty, considers himself obliged to endeavour a restraint on the said meetings in the City, as it is the garrison of the greatest consequence in the North, the place and safety whereof will be much endangered unless all occasion of tumult be prevented.'[1]

The petition was enclosed by Essex with a letter to Arlington in which he says: 'The dissatisfactions of the several parties here are considerable, and the army, which must be that which keeps all in order, is very thin.'

The Bishop was evidently alarmed by the situation, and on September 6 he wrote to the King, alluding to his thirty-two years of service, and asking either for an increased garrison or for his removal to England. After recapitulating the account sent to the Lord Lieutenant he proceeds to inform the King that 'the said party have since continued their assemblies the several Lord's Days, boasting their liberty, notwithstanding the Bishop's prohibitions, though not having any dispensation or licence from the King or the Lord-Lieutenant.' The Bishop returned on Friday, August 30, and received complaints from 'several of the best inhabitants, much affrighted with the numbers and insolencies of several of those sectaries, who had lately put affronts and reproaches on them as they were repairing to the Church.' After having publicly prohibited the meeting on the following Sunday, a prohibition which was disregarded by the now violent members of the party, the Bishop and the Mayor attempted to disperse the assembly. The former succeeded in his purpose by what he calls 'this little policy.' 'Telling them that seeing they now resolved to have a sermon, he resolved

[1] *S. P. Ireland, Car. II.* 331, No. 1301.

that as the law required Common Prayer should be read before it, and accordingly commands his chaplain, then ready at hand with a Common Prayer-book, to read the Prayers of the Church. On his beginning the Confession Campsie (one of the ringleaders in the affair) calls down his minister in haste, and hurries away him and the congregation too, as men affrighted, they being no more able to endure the Liturgy than owls and bats the sun.' But these clever tactics achieved only a temporary success. In about half an hour the Bishop received notice that the crowd had returned to the meeting-house. Thither also went the Bishop with the Mayor and sheriff and their officers, and from a chair, upon which he stood, the Bishop endeavoured to reason with his contumacious flock. His efforts were vain. The Governor, coming upon the scene with soldiers, they attempted to arrest the preacher, pulling him out of the pulpit; 'forthwith stones and stools fly about at the Mayor's officers and soldiers, for the preacher's rescue.' 'The soldiers'—we are told—'did little harm to any one, the most was that they struck down with their muskets two or three of the rioters holding up stools and stones in their hands, to be thrown at the Mayor, and slightly broke their pates.'[1] The riot was at length quelled and several arrests were made, the accused being examined at the Bishop's house. The sturdy Presbyterians were, however, by no means cowed, and in a letter which on September 13 the Bishop dispatched to Lord Arlington, we have a significant passage which points to the quarter whence they were confident of aid. The Bishop tells Arlington that he has transmitted to the King a narrative of the late riotous proceedings of the Presbyterians there, lest the rioters should anticipate him, as they had done to the Lord Lieutenant, because the Presbyterian party have boasted of their great interest at Court, and that they shall be heard by the King himself—one of them saying that they have a friend at the King's elbow who will see that they shall be heard. The Bishop adds that he is 'confident that his

[1] *S. P. Dom. Car. II.* 331, No. 1681.

Lordship will see that a Bishop's known loyalty of thirty-two years' trial shall find a friend at the King's elbow (aye his gracious self), as well as any Presbyterians proud of their numbers and interest in those parts.'

The friend 'at the King's elbow' was doubtless Sir Arthur Forbes, who was so soon to prove a friend in need to the Presbyterian ministers. To subsidise the Presbyterians from the Treasury was not a novel idea. It had been attempted in Scotland in 1669. Burnet tells us: 'The King ordered the Privy Council to allow such Presbyterians as were peaceable and loyal to serve the vacant Churches, and as for such as could not be provided to Churches at that time, he ordered a pension of 20*l.* sterl. a year to be paid every one of them as long as they lived orderly.' . . . 'The Presbyterians,' he adds, 'looked on this as the King's hire to be silent, and none of them would accept it.'[1]

The same writer states that offers were made to some of the English Presbyterians in 1672. 'There was also an order, to pay a yearly pension of fifty pounds, to most of them, and of an hundred pounds a year to the chief of the party. *Baxter* sent back his pension, and would not touch it. But most of them took it. All this I say upon Dr. Stillingfleet's word, who assured me, he knew the truth of it. And in particular, he told me, that Pool, who wrote the Synopsis of the Criticks, confessed to him, that he had had fifty pounds for two years. Thus the Court hired them to be silent: and the greatest part of them were so, and very compliant.'[2]

In his 'History of the Puritans' Neal partly quotes Burnet, and adds Dr. Owen's heated disclaimer of the impeachment; but though the doctor stigmatises it as 'such a frontless, malicious lie, as impudence itself would blush at,' he does not deny the payment, and his challenge to the whole world to prove that 'any person in authority, dignity, or power in the nation, nor any from them, papist or

[1] Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. i. pp. 413–4.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 273.

Protestant, did ever speak or advise with him about any indulgence or toleration to be granted to papists,'[1] does not amount to very much. The precise object of such payments was not to be candidly avowed, and we may regard the incident as an interesting parallel to the grant of the *Regium Donum* made in the following October.

The perilous enterprise upon which Charles had embarked demanded the support or at least the silence of the Presbyterian party, and the *Regium Donum* is easily explicable when regarded in its true connection with that policy which held the field from the downfall of Clarendon to the break-up of the Cabal.

[1] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 273. Ed. 1856.

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